



VOLUME 11, NUMBER 70/85¢

FOCUS

MIDWEST

A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY



**Some candid observations
by an ex-Missouri Welfare Director**



Chicago politics and reform

**Chicago:
A medical
wasteland**



ERNEST HEMINGWAY

— growing up
in Oak Park



**The politics of
mental health**



**Only 30,000 Missourians
elect Democratic, GOP
convention delegates**

**Partisan, regional
animosities determine
what
becomes
law in
Missouri**



OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit
items for publication,
indicating whether the sender
can be identified.
Items must be fully documented
and not require any comment.)*

The busing issue seems to be very hot everywhere except in a few "progressive" places like Missouri. During the 1974-75 school year, there were 628,952 pupils transported on 8,340 school buses at a total cost of \$48,603,035 in Missouri public school districts. This means that over 60% of public school pupils were bussed, at an annual per pupil cost of \$92.86. Missouri citizens have accepted this enormous amount of busing without protest. Of course, none of it was for purposes of desegregation.

The use of American missionaries and other church personnel for intelligence purposes in foreign lands is "completely proper," insists William E. Colby, former director of the CIA. "It's perfectly possible to be a good, loyal American and a good, loyal missionary."

"It's interesting to note that many of our critics are agnostics or have very little concern for the tenets of the Christian faith. . . . The law is mentioned about 200 times in the Bible and sets out guidelines for the way man should lead his spiritual, moral and ethical life. The law enforcement officer is really enforcing God's law. He is truly retained by God to fight and combat evil that's directly contrary to God's law. The law enforcement officer is in effect God's ambassador."

*Harlan C. Phillips, St. Louis' FBI Agent-in-Charge
from the pulpit of the First Baptist Church, Ellisville, Missouri, May 2*

License Collector Benjamin L. Goins, a former civil rights activist and first black elected to a city-wide office in St. Louis, lost a chance to earn \$30,000 for the city in 1975 by keeping an interest-free balance at the Jefferson Bank and Trust Co., where he was arrested in a 1963 civil rights demonstration (FOCUS/Midwest, Vol. II No. 10). He declared that one reason he left the account there was to show that a black "could turn the check" and not retaliate. Other city officials who kept interest-free balances at the Jefferson Bank had less of an excuse and none of them mentioned that the officers of the bank take an active part in Missouri Democratic politics.

You can get a good deal at the Steak n' Egg Kitchen in Kirkwood, Missouri, if you do some comparison shopping when you sit down to order breakfast. A "meat 'n egg platter" that includes ham steak, hash browns, 2 eggs, toast & jelly costs \$2.40. But if you order a "3-egg platter" which includes the same as the above plus a 3rd egg and juice, you pay only \$2.30.

Submitted by Richard Burns

Missouri Senator Hardin "Hardy" Cox (D-Rock Port) recently announced the formation of the Fellowship of Christian Politicians. Cox said, "Never before has our system and country needed divine guidance as it does not in these perilous and unsettled years. We need good Christian men and women at the helm of our ship of state, and I feel that this organization can help identify and give strength to our Christian people involved in politics."

"Claiming that the West has 'lost the will' to defend itself, Solzhenitsyn even praised the Franco regime and urged the Spanish people to curb the democratization process which followed Franco's death - a position sharply criticized by union leaders throughout the world. For his native land, Solzhenitsyn favors authoritarianism, guided by the Russian Orthodox Church."

From Newsletter of The Democratic Left

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has accomplished little and should be abolished, according to an independent study directed by attorney Sarah C. Carey and to be published by the Center for National Security Studies. "The nation is in no better position today than it was when the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 was enacted. . . . Crime has increased and no solutions to the crime problem are on the horizon," the report says. The LEAA has spent \$4.4 billion in grants to communities to help fight crime. \$160 million went to 8 cities where crime has considerably worsened.



FOCUS

MIDWEST

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Letters

COMMENTS ON GRASSROOTS ISSUE

I/M: The article by Henry Scheff on Citizens Action Program & by David Moberg on Sadowski & the Steel Workers (Vol. II, No. 69) convinced me I wanted to try (a) 1 year's subscription.

*T. Morman
Chicago, Illinois*

I/M: I am writing re the article on the Citizen's Action Program in the last issue by Henry Scheff.

It was a good article, and CAP has some most laudable accomplishments to its credit. What I fail to understand is why, in my opinion, its most concrete accomplishment and the one that should be most replicable, was left out.

This project was reported by the undersigned and by Andrew Ditton fully in the *Journal of Land Economics* in February, 1975. It covered the reduction of property taxes in two areas of Chicago, where there had been a noticeable decline in housing conditions, as well as racial changes. Taxes had not been adjusted although the home values had dipped vis-à-vis the rest of Chicago, taxes should have been markedly changed.

After rallying some 600 taxpayers and galvanizing them into action, CAP achieved reduction of 30% in taxes on the average or about \$350 per year per tax bill.

What is worth criticizing is that after having done such a fine job, CAP apparently did not find this sufficiently interesting to pursue in other areas of the city though it was an enormously productive effort. The only possible answer is that subsequently the tax assessor, who made the adjustment here under duress, did so voluntarily in the rest of the city. Actually, while this is partially true, there are still many such inequities in the Chicago area. I am led to believe that other factors accounted for CAP's lukewarm follow up in this area.

Unfortunately, this lack of follow up is the central problem in our society. It is too bad that when an organization like CAP does a good job its interest flags and it goes on to greener pastures. In any case, the accomplishment was still no mean feat and should certainly be publicized.

*J. S. Fuerst
Assistant Director
Graduate Program in Urban Studies
Loyola University of Chicago*

DIFFICULT, YES -- IMPOSSIBLE, NO

I/M: I have just read Judy Stevens' article on "The Secret Proceedings of the Chicago City Council" in Volume II, Number 69 of *FOCUS/Midwest* (March, 1976), and I would like to clarify the report on experiences of members of the League of Women Voters of Chicago in obtaining copies of proposed municipal ordinances. While the experiences attributed to me are totally correct and the facts Judy Stevens states are accurate, the reader may receive the impression that the difficulties in obtaining copies of legislation pending in City Council always occur as described.

That is simply not true. While we have had many difficult and frustrating experiences attempting to obtain copies of pending legislation and we have often been unable to obtain such, we have also occasionally been able to obtain copies of pending legislation, sometimes in time to testify on such proposals at the committee or subcommittee meeting.

In order to obtain such copies, we have either contacted a cooperative sponsoring alderman who supplied us with the information upon request or we have had to determine which committee or subcommittee would be dealing with the proposal and have had to receive cooperation from the chairman or the committee staff, who provided us with a copy of the proposed legislation.

*Andrea Rozran
Vice-President
League of Women Voters of Chicago*

CORRECTS COMMENT ON SYMINGTON PROPOSAL

I/M: In a recent issue of *FOCUS/Midwest*, Mr. Symington's drug proposal was described as a call for the "decriminalization" of drug use. I do wish to point out that Congressman Symington's proposal does not recommend the decriminalization of drugs, but rather a tightly limited test of a heroin maintenance program. This proposal, based in part upon the British system of heroin maintenance, provides for heroin addicts to receive free drugs and psychological help in government clinics. The purpose of this proposal is to reduce drug related crimes, which account for a substantial number of all crimes in American cities. Heroin addicts, in desperate need to support their habits, commit burglaries, robberies, assaults, and murders.

Clearly, Congressman Symington does not favor the decriminalization of drugs, which would not reduce crime, since the heroin would still be available from pushers and addicts would still need the money to buy it. He has called for extremely stiff penalties for those who sell drugs or are involved in illegal drug traffic. Symington's proposal is rather an attempt to deal with the many thousands of sick people who are hooked on hard drugs, and reduce the illegal drug traffic by taking the profit out of it. By doing so, we might be able to reduce drug-related crime.

*Judy Lorenson
St. Louis, Missouri*

CONGRESSMAN LITTON CORRECTS VOTING RECORD

(During the current race for U.S. Senator from Missouri, F/M voting records are being circulated in behalf of various candidates. Congressman Jerry Litton responded to one such circular with a carbon copy to F/M which follows.)

I am compelled to point out some rather disturbing inaccuracies and misleading information contained in the voting records of myself, Congressman Symington and Congressman Clay, published by "Focus/Midwest."

To be specific, on October 11, 1974, I voted "yes" on S. 1926, a measure holding in trust a portion of land in Grand Canyon National Park for the Navasupai Indian Tribe, with restrictions on its use. "Focus/Midwest" incorrectly stated my vote as "no."

On November 19, 1974, I voted "yes" to H.R. 13002, Minimum Standards for Public Water Supply Systems. Again, "Focus/Midwest" incorrectly stated my vote as "no."

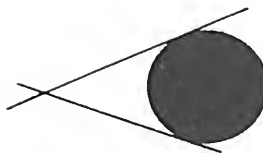
On December 12, 1974, "Focus/Midwest" stated I voted "no" on H.R. 17084, providing a three-year extension for training program in health professions. The fact is, I was absent from the chamber when that vote was taken and did not even vote. Had I been present for the vote, I would have voted "yes."

On June 3, 1975, "Focus/Midwest" again misrepresented my vote on the McClory amendment to H.R. 6219, which would have prohibited extension of remedies in the Voting Rights Act to language minority groups. I voted "no" on the McClory amendment, not "yes" as stated by "Focus/Midwest."

Another misrepresentation of fact concerned my vote on H.R. 4592, Foreign Aid Appropriation for the 1975 fiscal year. You will note the explanation of the bill contained in "Focus/Midwest" states, "reduced President Ford's request by about 2½ billion." My "no" vote on this bill did not mean, as implied in the publication, that I favored even higher foreign aid appropriation.

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Letters



CONGRESSMAN LITTON

(continued)

tions than the amount recommended by the Administration. My "no" vote was cast, instead, as disapproving the House figure as too high. It is my contention that the United States should further curtail its hand-outs to foreign nations until we are better able to handle our own grave economic problems.

I feel this list of issues in "Focus/Midwest" however, is not as indicative of my stands on human rights legislation as you will find documented in the legislative ratings by the Americans for Democratic Action.

During 1975, the ADA ratings of key human rights and social issue votes, showed me to be in agreement with my colleague, Congressman William Clay, on all but one issue — and that dealt with the oil depletion allowance, which you will agree has no bearing on the advancement of civil rights. On the 19 other recorded votes on minority rights, social security, voting rights, consumer protection, and emergency jobs veto override, I voted with Congressman Clay on all but one issue, or was unavoidably absent from the chamber. Our colleague, Congressman Symington, voted against the position of Mr. Clay on these issues three times. I believe you will agree with me that the ADA survey is the most accurate source of comparison between the voting records of myself and Mr. Clay.

I hope this letter has clarified my stands on the above issues and corrected the erroneous interpretation of my voting record.

If you have any questions or comments, please feel free to contact me.

Jerry Litton

Member of Congress

Editor's Note: Congressman Litton states that F/M incorrectly reported his votes on HR 6219 (listed as CIRR 6219), HR 4592, S 1296, HR 13002, and HR 17084. Congressman Litton is partially correct.

We apologize for incorrectly reporting Congressman Litton as voting "no" on S 1296 (erroneously called S 1926 by Congressman Litton), HR 13002, and HR 17084. Congressional Quarterly states that Mr. Litton voted "yes" on the first two of these, and did not vote on HR 17084.

We correctly stated that Congressman Litton voted "no" on HR 6219 and on HR 4592. Mr. Litton's "quote" of F/M's description of HR 4592 is inaccurate — F/M did not include the quote or any other inference.

COMING INTO FOCUS

In view of President Ford's veto of the \$3.9 billion emergency job bill to create more than 300,000 jobs, Congressman Paul Simon's (D Ill.) comments in his weekly column to constituents assume special significance. Simon writes about the Pulaski-Alexander County Soil and Water Conservation District which used \$75,000 from the Department of Agriculture to employ rural-welfare recipients and unemployment-compensation recipients to restore the historical, scenic courthouse in Thebes, Illinois. If these same people had continued to receive welfare or unemployment compensation, the government would have paid them \$40,000. Members of the Conservation District Board volunteered their supervisory talents to the project. So, for \$35,000, a building was made useful again, part of our heritage was preserved, people were given something constructive to do, and these people's wages added profits and taxes to the local economy. Congressman Simon asks why we don't divert more of next year's \$19.4 billion national budget for unemployment compensation and \$25 billion for welfare to similar restoration projects across the country.

Fiction writer Michael Henderson and Webster Review editor Nancy Schapiro are among thirty writers and editors who have been named winners of the 1976 Fels Awards, an award program of the Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines. Each of the fifteen winning writers receives \$500, and each of the editors who publishes the work receives \$250. In addition, the National Endowment for the Arts makes grants

through the CCLM for continued publication of literary magazines throughout the country. Three Missouri beneficiaries include New Letters of Kansas City (\$4,000), Tales of St. Louis (\$2,100), and Webster Review of Webster Groves (\$1,000). Two Illinois beneficiaries are Chicago Review (\$1,000) and The Milk Quarterly (\$300), both of Chicago.

The Missouri General Assembly established five joint interim committees which will report to the next session of the legislature.

The five committees include (1) laws
(continued on page nineteen)

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POEMS WANTED

THE MISSOURI SOCIETY OF POETS is compiling a book of poems. If you have written a poem and would like our selection committee to consider it for publication, send your poem and a self-addressed stamped envelope to:

THE MISSOURI SOCIETY
OF POETS

225 S. Meramec, Suite 207

Clayton, Missouri 63105

Pesticides in our milk?

The Missouri state administration is now pressuring the St. Louis City Public Health Department to drop the testing of cow's milk. In spite of protests from experts, it is expected that this program will be eliminated within the year. While mothers in the St. Louis area, according to the available evidence, do not show signs of excessive contamination, the cow milk tests should be continued because too many questions remain unanswered, and a continuing check in our polluted world is the only safeguard.

When the EPA reported finding the presence of the pesticide kepone in human breast milk in certain areas of the southern United States, FOCUS/Midwest checked out whether similar contamination had been found in the Missouri-Illinois area. Dr. Valgard Jonsen, John Armbruster and Barry Drucker have been working on such a study for the St. Louis City Public Health Department. Last year they tested a sample of breast milk each week for four weeks from fifty-one lactating mothers in the St. Louis area.

The recent breast milk test was for the presence of nine organochlorine (chlorinated hydrocarbon or DDT-type) compounds. There are two major suspected routes of contamination: air-borne/aerosol and food-intake. To test the air-borne route, the Health Department took samples of air, rain and hail from the St. Louis Municipal Court Building during a three-month period; they found no significant presence of pesticides from this source. The Health Department is currently studying mosquito spraying schedules of municipalities to discover any coincidence between spraying and higher levels of pesticides in breast milk. Results will be available in a few months.

The food-intake route of contamination is important because humans are "at the top of the food chain," which means that we concentrate chemicals and contaminants inside our bodies. Because DDT pesticides are oil soluble, tests were done on various "oily" foods, such as vegetable oils and milk. Significant levels were not found in vegetable oils. However, from previous experience in testing cow's milk to regulate pesticide contamination in Southern Illinois and Eastern and Southern Missouri under contract with the state of Missouri, the St. Louis City Health Department knew that a certain low level of contamination could be occurring through this source.

Another possible source of pesticide contamination is meat, although the Health Department did not specifically test meat for this study.

The study found that in 86% of breast milk samples, one to five pesticides were present. Of these, three are suspected or confirmed carcinogens and have been pulled off the market. Only one of the 51 women had higher levels (for two compounds) than tolerated by the FDA. Therefore, compared to studies of breast milk contamination in many underdeveloped and developing countries, St. Louis mothers had much lower levels of contamination, virtually all considered non-toxic according to FDA limits. However, although the mothers themselves were considered not to be contaminated according to FDA limits, their breast milk could still be considered to be a source of low-level contamination to their offspring, who are even more so "at the top of the food chain."

Three conclusions emerged from the study: 1) Breast milk is still the best food for infants, for nutritional and immunological reasons. 2) Although the pesticides did not, in almost all cases, exceed FDA

limits, more study must be done on the effects of these calcium-binding (muscle-restricting) compounds on growing organisms, to know their true impact on fetuses and infants. Perhaps FDA limits should be made more restrictive. 3) Contamination routes should be better regulated, e.g. alternative methods of mosquito control, stricter limits on pesticide usage, and more wide-spread testing of foods for possible contamination. Certainly, the milk-testing program by the St. Louis City Health Department should not be eliminated!

Let's not mock the Bicentennial

The Socialist Workers Party is seeking a place on the November General Election ballot. They have collected 21,400 petition signatures and plan to meet all requirements of the law. We hope that Missouri officials will not mock this bicentennial year by denying a minority point of view a political right which morally should not and constitutionally cannot be questioned.

We endorse the request of the Socialist Workers Party that "the rights of Missouri citizens to hear all political viewpoints" is not violated, and join Helen K. Savio, candidate for Governor of Missouri, in her expressed hope that "all Missourians, even those who may not necessarily agree with our political views, but who do believe in justice, democracy, and equal protection of the laws," will support their efforts to place their party's nominee on the ballot.

Does Missouri provide free public education?

A group of low-income families seeking to improve educational opportunities in their city of Caruthersville formed an organization called "Concerned Parents." One issue that aroused them was the School District's requirement that "registration fees" of \$2.80 to \$6.50 (depending on grade level) and additional fees for certain credit courses (typing, home economics, art, and driver education) be paid in order to receive report cards and diplomas.

The School District adhered to this policy in spite of the Missouri Constitution which requires "free public schools for the gratuitous education" of the state's young people; in spite of Missouri law which says that "a system of free public schools is established throughout the state for the gratuitous instruction of persons between the ages of six and twenty years"; and in spite of advisory opinions from Missouri's Attorney General and Department of Education favorable to Concerned Parents' point of view.

So, in late 1975 the organization filed a class-action suit in Circuit Court, with the help of the Bootheel Area Legal Assistance Program's attorney Bob Goodwin.

The December 4, 1975 *Democrat-Argus* viewed the suit as "just plain silly," since individual fees ranged from \$2 to \$15 but "come nowhere near paying for the education received by students taking these courses." The *Democrat-Argus* implied that the alternatives—higher taxes or elimination of certain courses—are unacceptable.

As Missouri Delta Ecumenical Ministry's newsletter *Catalyst* asked in March 1976, "Will the courts listen to a group of well-organized poor people with

the law on their side, or will the legal system of the Bootheel continue to serve as the weapon of the privileged few?"

So far, the answer is the latter.

The School District filed a motion to dismiss BALAP's suit. Judge Rex Henson held a hearing on the motion in Poplar Bluff on June 8 and dismissed BALAP's petition on grounds of failure to state a cause of action. Several days later Attorney Goodwin filed an appeal with the Missouri Supreme Court. Since the facts in the suit are not disputed, this suit will provide a clear opportunity for the court to rule on the constitutionality of the issue.

Endorsements

The Missouri primary offers a number of unusual opportunities to place on the November ballot candidates with an articulate point of view, who have left no doubt on the positions they hold on various issues. It is even more unusual to have such candidates run for statewide offices.

Among the Democratic candidates seeking the nomination for U.S. Senator, we endorse James Symington as both the most qualified and as closest to the issues which FOCUS/Midwest would like to see taken up by Congress.

In the congressional races, we endorse the nomination of Jack J. Schramm in the 2nd District, a brilliant and effective legislator whose election would enhance the stature of Missouri in Congress and strengthen the progressive forces in the Democratic Party.

Richard Bolling was elected to the 81st Congress in November 1948 to represent the 5th Congressional District of Missouri. We endorse his reelection this year. The District includes most of Kansas City, part of Raytown, and all of Grandview and Hickman Mills.

Generally considered the party's theoretician, Bolling formally announced that he would also be a candidate for majority leader.

He has written two books about the House in which he dissected its problems and prescribed remedies. He has built a reputation as a reformer through his work on the Rules Committee and by chairing the Select Committee on Committees in 1973-74 that proposed wide-ranging reforms in the House's committee structure.

Bolling has backed liberal Democratic policies throughout his congressional career. He currently sits on the Rules Committee and is Vice Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee. He previously served on Banking and Currency and Government Operations.

A consumers' ombudsman in Jefferson City may be more than wishful thinking if Alberta Slavin is nominated as the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor. She is the president of the Utility Consumers Council of Missouri and has been instrumental in fighting rate increases by Missouri utilities. A long-time supporter of consumer interests, Slavin would instill a new meaning to the office of lieutenant governor. An indication of her tenacity is the petition drive to stop the Missouri Public Service Commission from allowing utilities to increase their rates to help pay for future construction. By now, the drive has been endorsed by many Democratic candidates, even her primary opponent Richard J. Rabbitt, House Speaker.

James G. Baker, Missouri legislator from Kansas City, has filed for the Democratic nomination for attorney general. The Kansas City Star considers his voting record "outstanding on both local and state issues" and Baker's record brought him a St. Louis Globe-Democrat service award. He supports consumer protection laws, minimum standards for jails, small claims courts, disclosure by lobbyists, and opposes the Meramec Dam project. Baker's credentials for the office of attorney general rank him far above his primary opponent, George E. Schaaf, a former Circuit Judge of St. Louis County.

Recommendations on the Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of Missouri

Constitutional Amendment No. 1

Amends Section 7, Article X, Missouri Constitution, by deleting twenty-five year limitation on laws granting partial tax relief for lands devoted exclusively to forestry purposes.

Current laws provide for tax abatement to encourage both forestry and redevelopment of blighted urban areas. These abatement programs are limited to 25-year periods. The Missouri Forest Products Association lobbied the legislature to extend the abatement period for forestry to 50 years, but the final version of the amendment left the period open-ended, allowing for perpetual tax abatement on forested land. The current tax rate on land under the forestry abatement program is about one-fourth the normal rate for timber lands. Only a very small percentage of privately owned timber land is under the abatement program. The original State Forestry Act was laudable in good conservation practices. Opponents of Amendment No. 1 feel, however, that if a forest manager cannot stabilize his land and institute good conservation practices within 25 years, he will never be able to. Furthermore, perpetual abatement is a dangerous precedent. *We recommend a No vote.*

Constitutional Amendment No. 2

Repeals constitutional provision which presently requires that each election ballot be numbered and that such number be recorded on list of voters opposite voter's name.

Citizens for Better Politics and the League of Women Voters have long lobbied for this amendment because many potential voters choose not to vote because of fear that the numbering of ballots provides a means whereby a person's vote may be disclosed. The coordinated numbering of voters and their ballots provided a means for uncovering fraud, but disclosure of ballots for this reason has rarely been sought. The problem of numbered ballots has become moot in urban areas, which now use machines or punch cards. Also, the number of contested votes is often not enough to change the results of an election. If a significant number of votes are found to be fraudulent, and if numbered ballots are eliminated, elections can be repeated, thereby avoiding the necessity of disclosing how voters initially voted. *A Yes vote on Amendment No. 2 will encourage voter participation.*

Constitutional Amendment No. 3

Authorizes counties to issue utility or airport revenue bonds with voter approval; authorizes coun-

EDITORIAL

ties and municipalities to issue industrial development revenue bonds without voter approval.

Unlike general obligation bonds, revenue bonds do not obligate the taxpayers to repay on defaulted bonds. Therefore, there appears no reason to require voter approval of revenue bonds, especially if, as in the case of industrial development, physical assets can be fairly easily converted to other uses. *We recommend a Yes vote.*

Constitutional Amendment No. 4

Amends Missouri Constitution to authorize legislature to rescind administrative rules and regulations of agencies by concurrent resolution without presentation to the Governor.

The Amendment assumes that rules adopted by agencies have the Governor's approval, and that in order for the legislature to retain authority over rule-(law-) making, the Governor cannot be permitted to veto the legislature's wishes. Proponents are likely to include those who have suffered under what they deem arbitrary and shortsighted administrative rules, especially because the alternative of taking the issue to court is often prohibitively expensive. Opponents of this amendment do not trust the legislature to be any less arbitrary in rescinding rules or portions of rules to benefit particular lobbyists. Opponents cite the "separation of powers" doctrine; whereas, proponents argue that any rule-making authority which agencies have is only delegated temporarily by the legislature and can therefore be revoked. *On balance, we prefer a No vote.*

Constitutional Amendment No. 5

Repeals provision of Missouri Constitution which provides "Separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children, except in cases otherwise provided for by law."

This Amendment merely eliminates a provision that has been anachronistic since the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. *Vote Yes.*

Constitutional Amendment No. 6

Changes authority and jurisdiction of Supreme Court, Courts of Appeal and circuit courts; abolishes all other courts; creates associate circuit judges; amends nonpartisan court plan; amends judges retirement provisions; abolishes constables and St. Louis City prosecuting attorney; municipal courts become divisions of circuit courts.

Two groups attempted to sponsor alternative court reform measures. The Bar Association dropped its own alternative when the legislature's version was finalized and presumably included certain measures suggested by the Bar Association. Another committee to reform the courts dropped its initiative petition effort when it became apparent that their proposition would not be on the same ballot (in August) as the legislature's version. Most groups who originally opposed this Amendment have decided that half a loaf is better than none in court reform. *We recommend a Yes vote.*

Constitutional Amendment No. 7

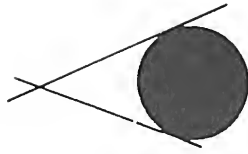
Authorizes enactment of laws providing (1) services for the handicapped, (2) nonreligious textbooks, and (3) transportation for all public and nonpublic elementary and secondary school children.

Voters — for those who still have an open mind on this Amendment — face three issues. One is the philosophical question of whether, in a democratic country, the government should be allowed to give any aid or encouragement, direct or indirect, to religious instruction. Opponents of this Amendment argue that when financial aid is given to certain non-religious aspects of parochial education, these schools are able to shift their own funds to religious education, and thereby the government indirectly aids religion. Proponents of this Amendment distinguish between direct aid and indirect encouragement, and feel the latter should be allowed.

The second issue involves the financial burden, if any, that this Amendment would place on tax payers. Proponents argue that if current private and parochial students attended public school, the financial burden on tax payers would be much greater. On the other hand, assuming that approximately the same percentage of families continue to choose private or parochial education over public education, under the same conditions that have prevailed in the past in Missouri, the added burden of funding special services, textbooks, and transportation to private and parochial students could be substantial. If the state were forced to finance transportation to private and parochial students on an equal basis with public students, the cost per pupil would be much greater, simply because attendance zones would necessarily be much larger. In fact, many private schools draw students from a huge geographic region; transportation costs in these cases could be prohibitive. Finally, many parents who choose non-public education for their children specifically *do not* want any state aid, direct or indirect, because they fear that influence follows money, that the government never gives money without strings attached.

The third issue involves the impact on local support for school taxation. Proponents argue that if parents of private and parochial pupils are made happier by the proposed subsidy, they will be more willing to pass public school tax hikes. Opponents fear, however, that the easier it is for families to send their children to non-public schools, the less interest these families will have in maintaining good public education. Some fear that the same thing might happen in Missouri as has happened in the South: wholesale transfer of students from newly desegregated public schools to all-white private academies; in the South this transfer has had a very negative impact on local support for public school financing. *We recommend a No vote.*

It is unfortunate that these 7 Amendments will be on the August Primary ballot rather than on the November General Election ballot, since twice as many people come to the polls in November than in August. These issues are important enough to merit consideration by as many voters as possible. Particularly in regard to Amendment No. 7, proponents favored the August date, feeling that a small turnout would favor passage, while opponents favored the November date, feeling that a large turnout would help defeat the proposal. In choosing the August date, Governor Bond maintained that this would minimize confusion with general election questions. Some observers feel, however, that Governor Bond hoped to resolve this emotional, controversial issue before his own campaign for the general election began, so that he would not have to take sides on the issue.



ILLINOIS POLITICS

LOTS OF ILLINOIS TICKET SPLITTING IN THE OFFING

In the summer solstice between the April primary and the fall campaign most of the excitement is in the gossip among the political buffs.

Two Illinois pols were overheard discussing Governor Walker's endorsement of Howlett:

"What effect do you think that Walker's endorsement will have?"

"Oh, I think it will be good for about 50,000 votes."

"You think Walker really has that much influence?"

"I'm not talking about 50,000 votes for Howlett, I'm talking about it adding 50,000 to Thompson."

The irony of the primary is that after a bitter campaign, Daniel Walker was not only a loser and lame duck but had absolutely no political credibility remaining. But Walker's blows in the primary have exacted their toll on Mike Howlett. Howlett is now regarded as gun-shy and fearful of any direct contact with his opponent. In addition, Howlett's moral credibility has been seriously injured by the revelations of his employment during the time he held public office by a Chicago scrap metal firm.

At this vantage point, the Illinois November elections begin to take shape. Jimmy Carter looks very strong in Illinois. If the election were held today, he would carry over 60% of the vote in a landslide. Republican belief that Ford, despite his weak candidacy, has the ability to come back. But the GOP adherents fear if Reagan wins the nomination, he would leave the party to another Goldwater-like debacle.

Assuming Ford is renominated and the Republican party is saved from extinction, Illinois Republicans then look to the November election with high hopes. Local polls show Republican James R. Thompson leading Howlett by large margins. Thompson's personal charisma and energetic campaigning seems to overcome his weak campaign structure. On the other hand, Howlett faces the opposite problem. He has excellent professional help but seems to be unable to overcome his lack of credibility as a candidate. There's an old truism, a candidate for the United States Senate or the governor cannot run from direct campaigning and refuse to be exposed to the media and to meet his opponent in debate. Until Howlett comes out swinging, it is very doubtful that he will be able to overcome his deficit.

The Lieutenant-Governor adds or detracts little from the gubernatorial campaign. Democrat Neil Hartigan, the incumbent Lieutenant-Governor, is an excellent campaigner but his similarities to Howlett, being an Irish-Catholic-Chicago machine candidate, deprive him of any contrast that he could use to aid Howlett.

While Republican Dave O'Neal, has a downstate base, his position as an extreme right winger becomes frightening to the Cook County independents and liberals who are eager to cross for Thompson, but are fearful of a ticket composed of a prosecutor and a sheriff.

Illinois is an incredible ticket-splitting state with over a million and a half voters splitting their votes four years ago with Republican Bill Scott and Democrat Howlett leading in votes.

No matter what occurs on the Presidential or gubernatorial level this fall, Scott and Dixon will strongly lead their party slates.

Bill Scott the incumbent Attorney General, is unbeatable. Many of the pols regard the slating of Cecil ParTEE by the machine as a rather cruel hoax. The sacrificial lamb of the Democrats is a black man. This allows the machine to offset its racist attitudes in the Chicago police case by throwing a bare bone to the black community. The tradition in Illinois of both parties has been to never slate a black, or a woman in a major office where it looks like the campaign can be won.

Alan Dixon would have been slated for governor by the machine had it not been for the fact he was an outsider to the Chicago machine. His popularity will make him the Democratic counterpart of Bill Scott and he will lead the Democratic ticket. State Senator Bill Harris, an amiable and well-liked professional, will not be able to gain the momentum necessary to make a decent showing against Dixon, especially with his integrity blanching by some of the testimony in the recent federal trial of Illinois legislators. Although, like Howlett, no direct indication of wrong-doing has been tied to Bill Harris, the present hostile attitude toward incumbent politicians creates a situation where, like Caesar's wife, they must be above reproach.

The Bakalis-Lindbergh contest will very probably be close. Lindbergh has been a good comptroller and has earned a great deal of respect for the job he has done. He is, however, a palid political campaigner. As one pol recently commented, "Lindbergh would come across as black and white on a color TV." Bakalis on the other hand, although he is much more controversial, is an excellent campaigner and will do extremely well in the Chicago suburbs and the collar counties. In a close election, the edge would have to be given to Bakalis based on his skill as a campaigner.

The machine Democrats seeks to regain control of the state with its people. The

machine of Howlett and Hartigan allows the Mayor to feel totally secure that if they are elected, he'll have no difficulty in Springfield.

The Republican pros feel ill at ease with Thompson but are caught in the throes of whether or not they would rather win with a candidate acceptable to the independent and reform community or fulfill their constant death wish and lose in a dream of achieving a Daley-like machine for themselves with patronage and other political goodies. But they have no choice, except to back Thompson. Their limited effectiveness would disappear if they did not back their party's ticket leader. The independents will once again find themselves splitting their ticket. Voting heavily for Thompson, Scott and Dixon.

— SHELDON GARDNER

A STRATEGY FOR LIBERALS IN UNIVERSITY DISTRICTS

Abner Mikva (D-Evanston, Illinois) won a close race in 1974 against a conservative incumbent in this wealthy congressional district by influencing the registration of college students. He persuaded Northwestern University students to register to vote at their college addresses (within his district) while persuading students whose families live in the district but who study at colleges outside the district to register at their families' address and vote absentee.

By urging some students to register according to their campus address while urging others to register at parents' addresses, Mikva's campaigners felt they were giving all students a rare opportunity: the chance to choose between a true liberal and a true conservative. Mikva, the true liberal, won by a slim margin, less than 5,000 votes. Mikva probably would not have won if 9,000 absentee ballots from colleges across the country had not come in, said Jack Marco, Mikva's 1972 campaign manager. He guessed about 7,000 of those absentee ballots had an "X" next to Mikva's name.

Credit for the 7,000 votes goes to the 75 campus coordinators across the country, who looked through campus phone books for students with a home address in the tenth district and then sent these 1200 students campaign literature and an absentee ballot. Since volunteers did this work, the cost was limited to postage and materials.

Although students traditionally have a poor voting record, they will vote if persuaded to, said Sandy Horwitt, Mikva's legislative assistant. But "you really have to work at it to get a good response." The main thing is to teach students how to vote absentee, Marco said. "Most students will vote if given the opportunity to." According to the Mikva worker's definition, opportunity means doing everything short of checking the box next to Mikva's name on the ballot. This year Mikva faces Young for the third time and will repeat this strategy

— CARY SPIVAK

Chicago politics and reform-

BY WALT HARRINGTON

The goals of political reformers haven't changed much since the turn-of-the-century Progressive Era, the country's first major experiment in political reform. Muckraker Lincoln Steffens wrote in 1903 that city politics in America "remains corrupt, government pretty bad, and the . . . citizen has to hold himself in readiness like the old volunteer fireman to rush forth at any hour, in any weather, to prevent the fire." In Chicago, where Richard Daley heads the last big-city machine, reformers still see themselves fighting the fire.

Just as the goals of Chicago reformers are forever chiseled in stone, so is the type of person who becomes a reformer. It is a political science tenet, for example, that most reform-minded folk are usually white, middle class or better and Protestant or Jewish. Chicago is no different. Its major pockets of reform sentiment are the University of Chicago, Hyde Park area and the wealthy North Shore lakeside wards. And the rhetoric surrounding reform hasn't changed much either. In Machine-politician argot, reformers are "naive do-gooders." The do-gooders give the classic rebuttal, tagging the Machine officials "party hacks."

Because of the Machine's enormous power, the main reform goal has not always been to overthrow the Democratic organization but to "open it up" to push for nominating "good men" to party posts. To some, however, "opening up" government, efficiency and civil service have clogged rather than opened government. Says Washington University political scientist, Dennis Judd, "Reform politics absolutely closes the system. True, the intention of reformers was not to make the system less open. But reformers want a centralized, professionalized politics with civil service. What kind of people can work within a centralized, bureaucratic politics based on efficiency defined as the centralization of authority? People who can talk, read, know their rights, brow beat and intimidate." The modern corporation and the Pentagon, he says, are the ultimate in bureaucratic government. Both are incredibly corrupt. "Take your pick," Judd says, "but don't be so damned righteous about it."

As columnist Mike Royko once quoted Daley: "The party permits ordinary people to get ahead. Without the party, I couldn't be Mayor. The rich guys can get elected on their money. . . Without the party, only the rich would be elected to office."

"If you are a product of Harvard Law School," as a reformer complained, "you just don't join the organization in (this) ward."

In 1975, independent mayoral candidate Bill Singer's main campaign issue was Chicago's rotten schools. But among ordinary people the issue generated little excitement. Milton Rakove, whose *Don't Make No Waves, Don't Back No Losers* is the latest contribution to the bulging list of Daley-watcher books, says Singer took the typical reformer approach, focusing on a broad social issue such as education. "We all want good schools," Rakove says, "but if you're black or poor, good schools are the last realistic thing on your mind." For example, only 2.3 percent of the people in Daley's hometown Bridgeport have graduated from college.

Of course, if a kid can't get a decent education, he has no hope of moving up the social ladder. So it appears

that Singer's attacks on lousy schools actually look after the interests of Bridgeport youths? Well, maybe it's the people of Bridgeport who know something the reformers don't: the American dream of class-climbing isn't what it's cracked up to be. Working persons in the United States are barely more upwardly mobile than their counterparts in other Western countries. Only 8 percent of those born to manual workers ever reach the coveted professional status, according to a 1960 study.

So it seems the 2,000 of Bridgeport's 40,000 residents working for Daley's Chicago are taking the social mobility ride open to them. The logic also extends to the Chicago Democratic Machine.

Reformer's frequent calls for an issue-oriented politics also seem hypocritical to some. Asks lifelong labor organizer, writer and sometimes political candidate Sydney Lens, "Do you know what the Doomsday Strategy is?"

"No."

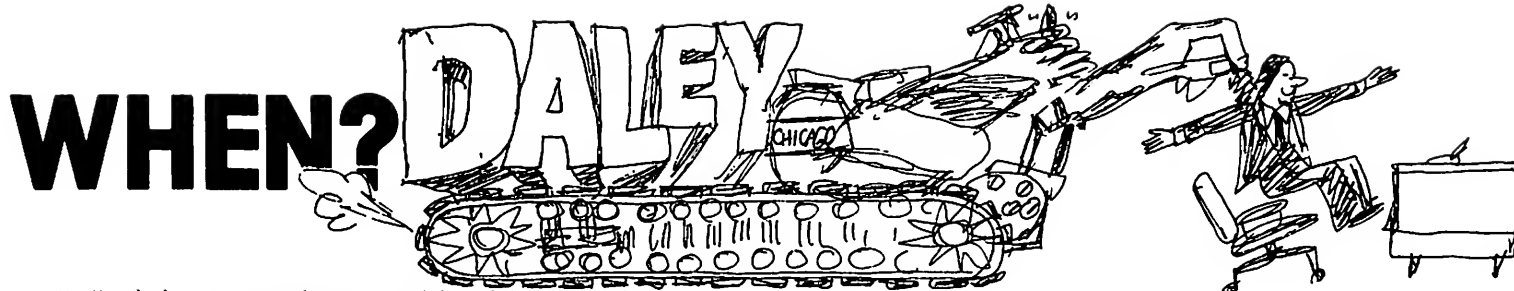
"You don't?! It is the most important issue in your life and you don't know what it is? And you are intelligent, educated, a writer. Well, I just got done doing a 3-month study of it so I know what it is," Lens says. "How can we expect people to keep up with thousands of political issues? The average guy is so bewildered, he votes either because he likes a guy's smile or because he can get favors."

And whether or not reformers are very far removed from the "average guy" Lens talks about, is also an open question. How many people of any political persuasion or intelligence quotient, for example, could give a clear account of the Doomsday Strategy before Lens' recent article on the subject appeared in the *Progressive*? How many can now?

At any rate, Lens says reform politics has contributed to the New Politics of personality, charisma and media stylism. "The big issues for a politician," Lens says, "is how many people have heard his name." Simple name identification. In short, the emergency and aggrandizement of the "independent" voter and candidate has speeded the breakdown of political parties and generated a rootless topical politics. An independent candidate is supposed to be his own man. No party bootlicker. That's fine, but multiply the number of candidates a person votes for by the number of issues candidates take a stand on. That's how informed a fellow must be to make an intelligent voter choice. Without simple party tags that label a politician's general approach to issues, Lens says, the average guy is lost. What remains? Smiles and favors.

"You are dealing with some very serious contradictions in the reform movement," says Don Rose, the backroom strategist of almost every independent political campaign in Chicago. But reformers "must first see the contradictions, which many have not. Then, they must posit some alternatives. That is the limitation of the present reform movement" — the lack of alternatives."

Rose breaks reformers into several groups. First, the "good-government reformers, classic upper-middle-class reformers." These people include the more-bang-for-the-buck, efficiency-in-government political moderates. Moving toward the political left, "the civil-rights liberals" are next. Finally, come the various assortments of socialists who favor, for example, worker ownership of factories.



"All of these categories are social and intellectual minorities... and the only way this coalition will be effective is if reformers can come to recognize their limitations." Any successful reform in Chicago, Rose says, must "acknowledge the working-class base of the Machine. And just as the Machine can appeal to the interests of working people, so can reformers."

But in Rose's scheme, there is a catch: the usual reform leaders play a much smaller and less visible role. "The citywide leadership is going to come from the Ed Sadlowski's and Mike Holewinski's in Chicago and some kind of black leadership," says Rose. Sadlowski is the District 31 United Steel Workers' head who in 1974 ousted the Chicago-Gary old-line labor leadership with a reform platform (see FOCUS/Midwest Vol. 11 No. 69). Holewinski is an independent state representative from Chicago's 17th District. He beat the Machine candidate in an upset victory in 1974.

"We are talking about a social dynamic," says Rose. "Reformers can give the money, contacts and organization they have built up over the years," but if a reform coalition is to be successful, they must take a backseat to those leaders who can appeal to the majority of Chicagoans.

Anonymity, however, will be hard to take for many reformers. Reform politics has long been a stepping stone for persons rejected by the Machine. In fact, Chicago's early reform efforts - headed in part by now Gov. Dan Walker - revolved around opening up the Democratic organization to allow the entry of ambitious, but independent-minded, candidates. Make room for the Harvard man who feels uncomfortable joining his Democratic Ward organization.

But, Rose says, no matter what campaign issues a candidate such as Bill Singer select, he "can't win. He is not a majority candidate. If he runs again, it will be a catastrophe, because in four years an independent black with the support of the liberal reformers could give the Machine a real run." Singer, however, would be once again annihilated by the Machine candidate, Rose thinks.

Since the 1870s, with occasional bursts of reform, Chicago has been a Machine city. Reformers have moved the righteous and those who stood to gain from reform with appeals to morality and efficiency. But Daley co-opted them. He wooed blue collars as he courted powerful downtown businessmen with tax breaks, city services and a revitalized loop. Labor got good wages and plenty of jobs and local contractors and developers got miles of stretched and stacked concrete. The city runs and not enough people are willing to trade that for morality's sake.

Says Rose, "Reformers are just going to have to recognize their limitations. The question gets down to the nature of leadership, coalition and self-determination." They are going to have to better understand "the strategic coalition necessary to win power in Chicago." That coalition of reformers, white ethnics and blacks, however, leaves ambitious reformers only a piece of the political-power pie. But remember, Rose says, with the ever-present reformer appeal to conscience, "This strategic majority is also more just." And after all, justice is what reformers say they have wanted all along.

Making it work in the 44th

Chicago Alderman Dick Simpson is one reformer who does not fall into the centralize-bureaucratize-professionalize mold.

His 44th Ward Assembly is a New England-style town meeting affair where residents discuss Ward problems and air complaints and suggestions. Up to 400 people have attended. To put the Assembly in control of the politician - in this case Simpson - a two-thirds Assembly vote binds Simpson's City Council vote.

"Reformers have been traditionally concerned with efficiency, economy and corruption," says Simpson, a University of Illinois Circle Campus political scientist. "But I stand at the other end. If the good-government types corrected only patronage and efficient tax use, you still wouldn't have a government worth anything. It would be better, but still no good."

Simpson's grass-roots, person-to-person politics borrows pages from the rulebooks of radical community organizer Saul Alinsky and old-line machines alike. Politics again becomes a daily part of people's lives, not something galloping through their living rooms on the evening news. In the 44th Ward, Simpson says, power moves from the bottom to the top - not vice versa. Strange, but that's called reform.

The 44th Ward Assembly states four major purposes in its Charter: 1) to direct and advise the alderman as to what new legislation he should sponsor in City Hall; 2) direct and advise the alderman as to how he should cast his vote in the City Council; 3) to establish priorities for programs to be undertaken by the alderman for the benefit of the ward; and 4) to make possible free and responsible debate on all the issues that effect the welfare of the residents of the ward.

To accomplish these purposes, the Assembly meets with the alderman each month and discusses the issues concerning the community. The body of the Assembly is made up of voting members and non-voting members. Each of the 64 precincts within the ward elects two delegates to the Assembly and every organization in the ward with 25 or more members is entitled to appoint one delegate. In addition, every resident of the ward has the right to attend meetings, offer proposals and participate in debates.

To add real meaning to the Assembly efforts, Alderman Simpson agrees to be bound by a 2/3 vote of the Assembly with regard to 1) the way he votes in City Council and the measures he introduces into the Council, and 2) the programs and priorities he sets for the Ward Office and staff.

Partisan, regional animosities determine what becomes law in

BY PAUL M. BROWN

Toward the close of the last century, when farmers stood to the fore of liberal causes, William Jennings Bryan was asked at a midwestern populist rally what purpose God saw in creating conservatives? Laying aside rhetoric, Bryan justified the tenacity of the right, likening the struggle of liberals against conservatives to that of a horse straining against his plough. Bryan pointed out to his rural audience that although in one sense horse and plough work in opposite directions, the horse straining forward and the plough holding fast in the ground, no right minded farmer would question the necessity of using both to till fields. Likewise, so Bryan maintained, liberals - pulling like strong horses - supply the impetus for change while conservatives - holding back like sharp ploughs - put these ideals to task. Together they make for a viable political process.

Today Bryan's analogy is useful in characterizing Missouri's bicameral legislature. The House of Representatives, still largely the preserve of non-professional lawmakers, regularly advances controversial, and oftentimes innovative, legislation. The clannish Senate, on the other hand, wary of legal oversight and misjudgment, is more inclined to hold back or drastically water down bold legislation. In 1975, for example, the Missouri House passed witness immunity legislation (HB 149), minimum jail standards (HB 19), establishment of small claims courts (HB 23, 481, & 745), no-fault auto insurance (HB 480), and revisions in the School Foundation Program distribution formula (HB 350), only to see them die in the Senate, more often than not without their ever having gotten out of committee.

The Senate seemed more concerned with the business of government, devoting much of its time to workman's compensation, salaries and pensions, local government, and banking regulation. It is a highly deliberative body, often hosting highly engaging oratory and only rarely dividing along partisan, regional, or otherwise factional lines during roll call votes. In fact, the Senate seems almost to legislate by consensus. During the 1975 session, fewer than a dozen roll calls saw as much as one-fourth of the Senate membership opposed to the majority. This lack of divisiveness may be due in part to the technical

nature of much of the Senate's work, however, more importantly, partisan and regional differences in the chamber are simply overshadowed by the Senators' mutual conservatism.

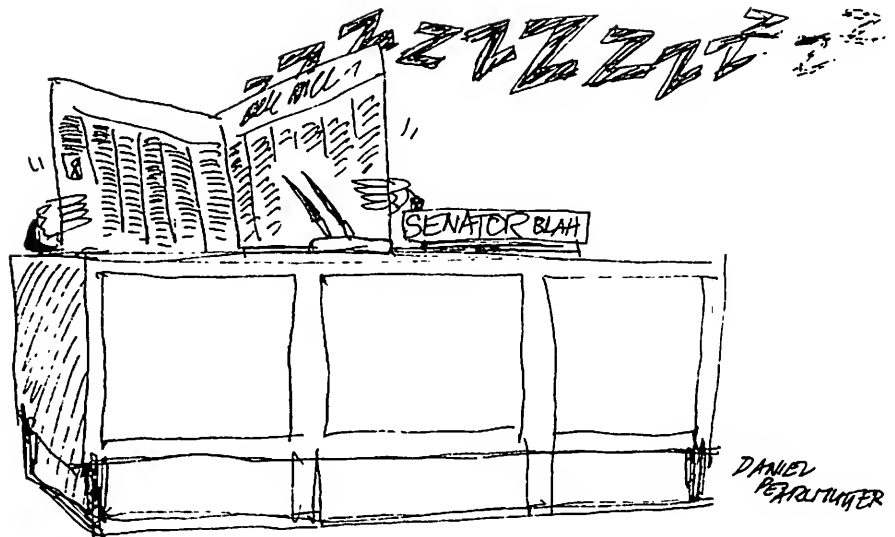
One of the most distinguishing commonalities of this body is the fact that nearly two-thirds of the Senators are lawyers. Their pervasive influence is often cited in assessing past rejection by the Senate of small claims courts and of no-fault auto insurance. In the House, where both of these measures passed easily, only 17% of the Representatives list their occupation as that of attorney. Of course, it should be also noted that the Senate's native conservatism has been somewhat exaggerated by the House's readiness to pass politically expedient, though otherwise undesirable, legislation with the expectation that the Senate would block its passage into law.

The House has something of a reputation as a forum for unrestrained confusion. Visitors to the Capitol Building in Jefferson City are often surprised to see Representatives loudly caucusing on the House floor, reading newspapers, signalling to colleagues across the chamber, and generally ignoring whomever has the Speaker's recognition. However, it is precisely this populist atmosphere which permits controversial legislation to reach the roll call stage where overt partisan, regional, and ideological factions battle for control of the chamber vote.

The most important of these divisions arise from partisan animosities - Republican versus Democrat. Democrats have perennially controlled both chambers of the Missouri General Assembly, and in the elections of 1974 they garnered veto-proof, two-thirds majorities with which to do battle with Republican Governor Christopher S. Bond.

Elected two years before as the state's first Republican chief executive in more than a quarter of a century, Bond has generally steered clear of the legislative fracas, usually exercising his veto only to maintain the executive budget. In one notable exception, when Bond sought to preserve the integrity of the state's Sunshine Law by vetoing a Nursing Regulation bill, the General Assembly responded with its first successful override of a gubernatorial veto in 138 years.

Missouri



Although welfare spending was the focus of some of the most intensely partisan votes in the House, with the average Republican supporting only half as many welfare measures as did the average Democrat, Bond has generally acquiesced to welfare increases. During the 1975 session, House Republicans vainly battled Democrats over welfare measures which included increased benefits under Aid to Dependent Children programs (HB 25), additional support for county tuberculosis hospitals (HB 32), and expanded benefits under workman's compensation (HB 196). Ignoring the mandate of his party, Bond went ahead and signed each of these measures into law. Notably, other spending measures which were vetoed by the Governor were not generally opposed by House Republicans.

Despite their partisan advantage, the House Democratic leadership was not particularly successful in getting its legislative programs enacted. During the 1976 session, for example, Speaker Richard Rabbitt was able to get only 7 of 19 bills from his agenda passed — a record little better than the 7 of 27 bills enacted out of the Governor's legislative package.

While members of the Democratic caucus generally voted with their leadership, Democratic hegemony was occasionally overcome by a coalition of Republicans and non-metropolitan, or outstate, Democrats — particularly those from "Little Dixie" districts of north-central Missouri. In 1975, whenever the House of Representatives divided along partisan lines on contested roll calls, support for the Democratic position averaged a surprisingly low 56% of the chamber vote; barely nine votes beyond a simple majority and far from the two-thirds majority theoretically commanded by the party leadership.

Although coalition voting considerably bolstered the Republican position on partisan issues, only when Republicans voted together in a highly cohesive bloc could they expect to be joined by enough maverick Democrats to actually carry the roll call. In 1975, of the five partisan votes of greatest Republican solidarity, the position adopted by a majority of Democrats failed every time. These Republican triumphs involved defeats for state occupational safety and health standards (HB 460), for new regulation of certain insurance company practices (HB

483), for budget increases for clerks of St. Louis and Kansas City felony courts (SB 339), for indebtedness for the State Housing Commission (HJR 40), and for a requirement that employers pay their employees serving on jury duty (HB 185). Republican solidarity faltered on the next two partisan measures of greatest Republican opposition and Democrats carried them both, although only by narrow one and two vote margins. Both measures died in the Senate. They called for authorization of collective bargaining for public employees (HB 343) and for legalization of pari-mutuel betting (HJR 30).

Metropolitan-outstate conflict, that is conflict between legislators from the St. Louis and Kansas City metropolitan areas and those from all other parts of the state, was especially acute within Democratic ranks where regional differences almost evenly divided the party — 55% of all Democrats were elected from districts in St. Louis or Kansas City while 45% represented outstate districts. The evenness of these two factions fostered competitiveness between them. Democrats divided along regional lines on better than one of every seven roll call votes for perfection or third reading.

Among Republicans, only 32% represented metropolitan districts; an overwhelming majority, 68%, were from outstate Missouri. Consequently, dissension by the small metropolitan faction within the Republican party was considerably discouraged. Only one of every twenty roll call votes for perfection or third reading involved substantial metropolitan-outstate conflict within the Republican party.

Sometimes regional divisions emerged as the principal determinant of a bill's fate, superseding even partisan considerations. In 1975, outstate opposition was responsible for the defeat of a consumer debt collection practices bill (HB 71), while minimum jail standards (HB 19) and licensing of chiropractors (HB 342) passed despite heavy outstate opposition. Metropolitan legislators, on the other hand, tried unsuccessfully to scuttle a bill lowering property tax assessments for farmers (SB 203). Over the long run, the two delegations were close enough in size — 48% metropolitan and 52% outstate — so that neither faction dominated the other. In 1975, each delegation won exactly one-half of the roll calls which they contested.



Only 30,000 Missourians elect Democratic, GOP convention delegates

STAFF REPORT

While nearly 30 states revelled in the momentary attention presidential primaries brought them, the rest selected convention delegates in the traditional way — at caucuses.

The caucus system is not what it used to be. Eight years ago it produced half the delegates. Now, in the aftermath of party rules changes, only a quarter came from caucuses.

In the caucus states, the power was left in remarkably few hands. Estimates by Congressional Quarterly's sources in the caucus states pointed to light turnouts — about 17,500 Democrats and about 13,000 Republicans in Missouri attended local meetings to select delegates.

In spite of the high stakes involved in the early caucuses, most of the candidates say they are satisfied with the system. Unlike a primary state with a large electorate, a caucus often attracts a small, identifiable group of party activists.

The caucus system presents a controlled environment in which many campaign managers prefer to operate. Instead of costly media advertising, the key to success is an efficient organization that will locate the candidate's enthusiastic supporters, those willing to spend several hours in a local caucus.

Although the caucus system features personal contact with party voters and minimal campaign expense, the system has its critics. "The caucus is a sham as far as political participation goes," declared Michael (Mickey) Griffin, Gov. George C. Wallace's party coordinator. "Basically the people who participate are the court house crowd, the governor's people and the party activists. . . .

The caucus is an organizational effort to see what candidate can outstuff the other, which candidate can get the most supporters to go to a meeting that still represents a microscopic total of the entire electorate."

Griffin's criticism is aimed at the relative complexity of the caucus system. Instead of focusing on a single primary election ballot, the caucus presents a multi-tiered system that involves meetings scheduled over several weeks, sometimes even months. While there is mass participation only at the first level, meetings at this step often last several hours and attract only the most enthusiastic and dedicated party members.

Participation, even at this first level, is much lower than in primary states. The operation of the caucus varies from state to state, and each party has its own set of rules. But most use a process that begins with precinct caucuses or some other type of local mass meeting, open to all party voters. These elect delegates to county conventions. At the county level, delegates are elected who usually go to both the congressional district and the state conventions, in the states where conventions are held at both levels. The delegates elected at the county level are usually the most important in the process, since they vote for the national convention delegates who, in nearly all states, are chosen exclusively at the district and state levels.

Unlike primaries, caucuses usually function under state party rules rather than state law. For that reason, the state parties have traditionally had a dominant role in the selection of delegates in caucus states. But the Democratic

Party adopted sweeping reforms in 1971 to open the delegate selection process to rank-and-file Democrats and reduce the power of the state parties. The McGovern candidacy the following year dramatized the way the new rules had shifted power in the caucus states. In spite of opposition from the leadership of many state parties, McGovern's insurgent candidacy was able to win a clear majority of the delegate votes in 13 of the 28 caucus states.

The power of the Democratic state parties has been further curbed in 1976 by new rules. (See *Focus Midwest*, No. 67.) The new rules encourage numerous Democratic presidential candidates to enter caucus states, rather than to negotiate with state leaders after the delegation has been elected. They are supposed to reduce the likelihood of large blocs of delegates going to the convention under the sponsorship and the control of the party leaders. Although elected by supporters of a candidate or as uncommitted, Democratic delegates in Missouri are not bound by the vote and can switch as many times as they chose. In practice, however, the reforms have at most only diminished control by state political leaders but certainly not eliminated it. Typically, when Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton switched from an uncommitted to a pro-Carter position, he could make the announcement in behalf of many political leaders and delegates.

The Democratic reform rules tend to benefit insurgent, anti-establishment candidates whose emotional appeals are most likely to locate dedicated supporters willing to attend a caucus. In 1972, in the contest of the Vietnam War, it was the McGovern followers who turned out. In 1976, McGovern and other liberals diluted their strength by supporting too many progressive candidates.

While the work of state affirmative action programs did not increase the turnout of liberal voters at Democratic caucuses in 1976, it forced party officials to conduct reasonably fair and open meetings.

While the Democrats have made numerous reforms in the last decade, the Republicans have made few. The rules under which Sen. Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.) won a large majority of the caucus state votes in 1964 were largely in effect for 1976. There was no mandatory proportional representation. There was no requirement that a candidate for delegate announce his presidential preference. There were state positive action programs designed to encourage participation by minorities in the delegate selection process, but the positive action programs were recommended rather than required. The Reagan successes reflected not the assertions of minority interests in the Republican Party, but the fact that the establishment Republicans actually are even more conservative than conservative President Ford.

The Republican rules do not encourage insurgent, anti-organization candidates in the caucus states. Republican caucuses are usually dominated by loyal party members, rather than by individuals bucking the party establishment.

Even with the increased expenses produced by more campaigning, the cost of a caucus state operation is significantly lower than the cost in a primary state. The absence of large media bills is the principal difference, although staff requirements are also considerably smaller in caucus states.

Missouri elected more delegates than any other Democratic caucus state and all but one Republican caucus state, Virginia. Yet, here too, the number of voters selecting these large delegations, was small. The combined turnout means that less than 2 percent of Missouri's registered voters participated in the selection.



New primary rules make little difference

Contrary to prediction, the rise of proportional representation in the 1976 nominating process has not significantly increased the chances for brokered conventions this summer. This year's primary results shows that the delegate count would not be much different if the 1972 rules had been followed.

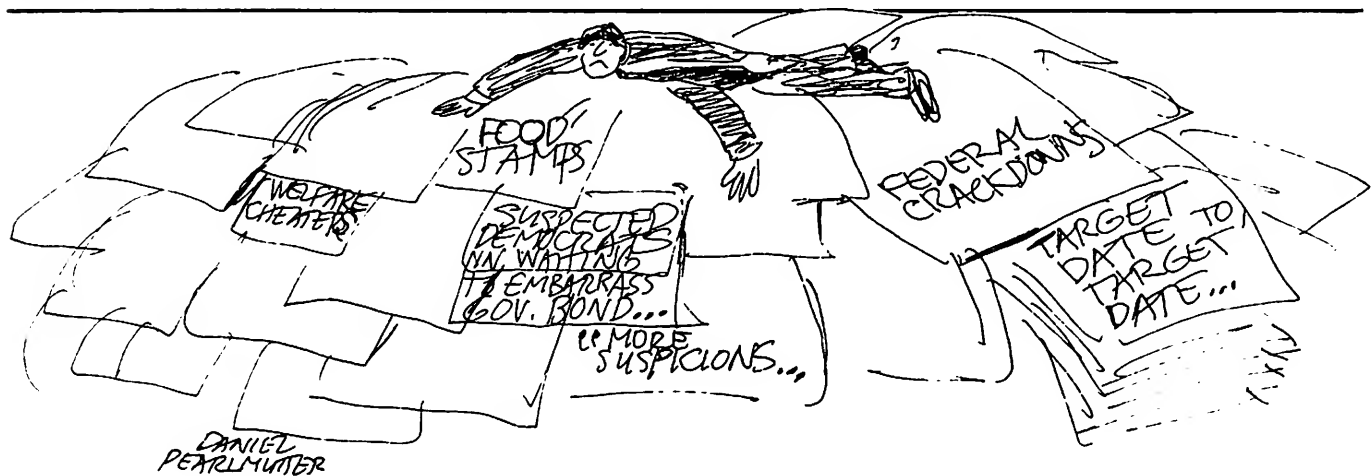
Thirteen Democratic and five Republican state parties changed the form of their primaries this year, nearly all of them switching from a winner-take-all to a proportional representation type. The common expectation was that this would retard the process of decision in both parties by reducing the payoff a front-runner would get with each primary victory. Through June 1, however, an application of the 1972 rules to 1976 would have placed Jimmy Carter only 23 delegates ahead. President Ford would be just 27 delegates ahead.

The rise in proportional representation primaries was a direct result of Democratic delegate selection reforms, which mandated proportional representation and eliminated winner-take-all primaries. The new rules, adopted by the party in 1974, allow delegate selection, or "loophole" primaries, in which delegate candidates are elected on their own and the opportunity for winner-take-all remains. But most Democratic primary states, 17 of 30, opted this year for the proportional representation type of primary rather than the loophole version.

The Republicans did not change their delegate selection rules to abolish the winner-take-all primaries, and they have been retained in eight states. But in several other states, the Democratic reforms have produced a change in state primary laws that have required both parties to hold proportional representation primaries.

The new rules have cost the two front-runners, Carter and Ford, delegates in primary states which they have won. Nevertheless, the effects of proportional representation have tended to cancel each other out. While the new rules have hurt Carter and Ford in primaries they have won, these results have been nearly balanced by the opposite effect in states they have lost — states where they would have been effectively shut out under the old system.

Since 1968, only one state, New Mexico, has dropped its primary in favor of the caucus. The best turnout rate in a caucus state — 19% in Connecticut — was less than half the average turnout rate in primary states (43%).



Some candid observations by an ex-Missouri Welfare Director

BERT SHUMLINSON

I was pleased to be asked to serve as the Missouri State Welfare Director in early January 1973. There was much speculation earlier about who would be selected to serve as the director by the new Republican Governor, Christopher S. Bond. As a non-political type and moreover a social worker, I could hardly believe it when the governor first called me and within a few seconds indicated that he had much respect and confidence in my ability and wanted me to take on this important assignment.

Hesitating, I did not give the Governor an immediate answer and requested an opportunity to meet with him. An interview was arranged for later that evening with the Governor and a few of his immediate assistants. We really didn't exchange views but I was asked several questions as to my background. One of the Governor's assistants was all smiles when he learned that I was of all things a "nominal" Democrat. This apparently he felt to be newsworthy, and it did help to generate headlines across the state, i.e. "Bond Appoints Democrat to Key State Position."

As it turned out the Governor and I really did not learn much about each other on this occasion. I received no formal understanding of what our relationship would be in the future, but somehow I assumed that as the new head of the gigantic Missouri state welfare organization that we would be in regular contact. I also assumed that as a moderate but cost-conscious liberal that I would get along well with the Administration, although I had my doubts about how I would be received by the state legislature.

As things worked out, the relationship between myself

and the Governor left much to be desired. Communications between us were at times most limited, and I was left virtually alone to make vital decisions affecting several hundred thousand needy welfare recipients and to administer an agency budget of more than one-third billion dollars annually.

It wasn't a healthy situation. We all know that public welfare is a controversial issue and it is desirable that the state director and Governor work as a unit with the Governor supporting and taking joint responsibility for important decisions. In our situation, I was left primarily to deal with an assortment of aides who served on the Governor's immediate staff.

The Governor's staff left much to be desired. On an across the board basis, these persons were generally unqualified to work on a policy making level in regard to social welfare decisions. As a result, I avoided all but direct contact with the Governor himself.

After 27 years of continuous Democratic administration in the State Capitol, the new Republican administration felt that improvements were in order. However, meaningful improvements are unlikely without the full involvement and commitment of the top state officer. It soon became clear that it would only be a matter of time before I would feel compelled to leave my position because of an unworkable relationship with the Governor.

It became my goal to operate the Division of Welfare for as long and as effectively as possible. All possible improvements were made, including the absorption of several new important programs enacted by Congress, maintaining rela-

tionships with legislators, insuring that adequate funding was made available to the Division of Welfare and learning to get along with the Governor's staff so that I could continue to have a reasonably free hand in accomplishing my objectives.

July 1, 1974 became the date for the State Reorganization as enacted by the Legislature. The Director of Welfare would no longer be appointed by the Governor and the Division of Welfare would go out of business. Eventually, I submitted my resignation effective July 1, 1974, with State Reorganization.

Shortly after my appointment was confirmed by the Senate, I learned that politics were to have a bearing on my administration. Previously, I had naively assumed that my administration would not be unduly pressured by political considerations. The Governor had an open mind and was willing to receive advice on a non-political basis. However, his primary source of counsel became his closest aides, who were poorly qualified to render advice on welfare matters, and worse, Federal officials and appointees of the Nixon Administration. In actual fact, the Nixon Administration, through the President's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Casper Weinberger, was, and still is, perhaps the most unsavory source of advice a State Governor or Welfare Administrator can go to for high level help and consideration. Seeking or accepting assistance from this source is no better than a farmer going to a fox for help in protecting his hen house.

The Governor's immediate staff, particularly at the highest level, suspected Democrats to be in hiding all over waiting for an opportunity to embarrass the Governor. In respect to the Division of Welfare, which incidentally is a merit system employer, they often characterized our staff as Democratic cronies, incompetent to carry out their jobs and people who would be disloyal to the Governor at the drop of a hat. With this situation, any director would have had his work cut out for him.

To the credit of the Governor, when a crisis situation did arise, I was usually able to get to him and he would accept my advice as a rule over that of his immediate staff and he would generally take our explanations before that of the Weinberger machine. In those early days, I received several incredible suggestions from the Governor's staff and even tentative directions from the Governor himself which would have gotten his administration into all kinds of difficulty. Fortunately, we were able to ride out these early potentially dangerous strategies and subsequent ones so that I now look back with some satisfaction at the accomplishments during my tenure in office.

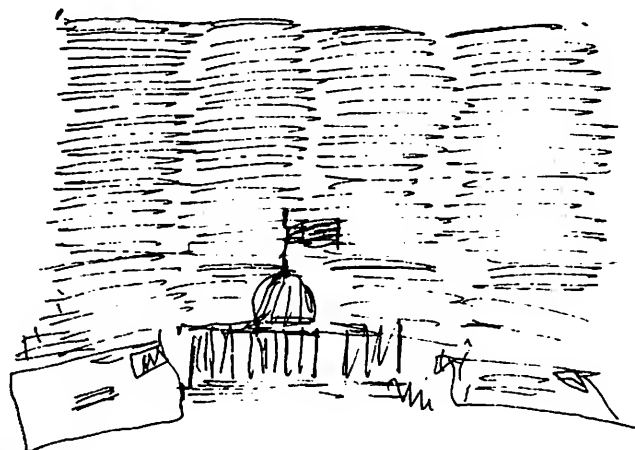
One of the Governor's key campaign staff members advised that the principal chiefs of the Division of Welfare needed a real shaking up and recommended that I immediately commence to transfer them from post to post and thereby improve the agency's effectiveness. On another memorable occasion, the Governor called me into his office to discuss a public campaign with the media in cracking down on welfare fraud and chiseling. He had further orders involving the replacement of certain staff and several other similarly negative directives. Fortunately, I was never actually required to carry out directives which would have been improper or harmful and managed to avoid any activity which would have resulted in hurting the Governor's image as a progressive new force in Missouri government.

An incident that got me off to a bad start with the Bond administration occurred in early 1973 around the issue of the proposed controversial social service regulations imposed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Secretary Weinberger. At the time these regulations were released, Governor Bond and the other Republican

Governors were meeting with President Nixon in Washington and as our newly elected Governor, no doubt Bond wished to make a good impression.

In his absence and because we felt that attention had to be drawn to these very harsh, punitive and economically unfeasible regulations, a news conference was arranged by the Governor's office at our request, at which we elaborated on our unhappiness with the Federal proposal. The Governor was provided with an advance copy of the release but apparently his approval was not requested or received by the appropriate members of his staff.

Missouri was one of the first states to protest and was followed by nearly all other states and after literally tens of thousands of letters of protest had poured into Washington, Congress enacted legislation which negated the proposed regulations, and eventually led to a current proposal which has been far more feasible and acceptable to the states. The Governor did not appreciate the publicity which came out of the press conference, and according to one aide, was highly embarrassed by the Division of Welfare's position while he was meeting with the President.

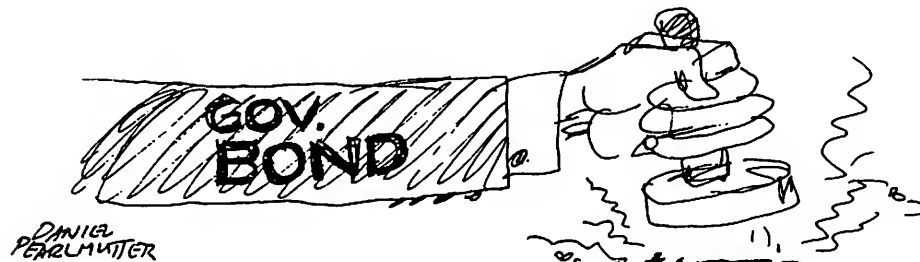


DANIEL
PEARLMUTTER

Incidents of this type led to a kind of self-censorship of department heads dealing with the media. Certainly, thereafter I made darn sure that all of my contacts with the media were carefully cleared or communicated beforehand to the Governor's office.

A certain number of problems in administering welfare programs will occur in any state. Missouri had high case-loads, spent relatively large sums of money and in most respects was regarded as a major welfare state. Although the volume was large, the department managed to retain a reasonable amount of personalization. I was in contact with field activities on a daily basis. By and large the program was well controlled, the funds were properly accounted for, the cost of administration was minimal and the department had a committed staff willing to go beyond the call of duty in getting out financial assistance and in providing social services.

We were not yet really into the computer age and were performing little miracles every day on a one to one basis, which the staff considered to be part of the job. In the brief period while I was with the Division of Welfare, we were able to complete a mass conversion of 118,000 old age, disabled and blind recipient cases over to a new program called Supplemental Security Income. It was a tremendous transfer of cases which still poses certain problems around the nation, and one which Missouri went through with a minimum of problems. While this was going on, the same



VETO
 (in 1974 the governor vetoed a
 NINE PERCENT COST OF LIVING
 INCREASE IN AID TO DEPENDENT
 CHILDREN BENEFITS, OVERWHELMINGLY
 APPROVED BY THE LEGISLATURE)

overburdened staff also introduced the food stamp program into 88 counties which previously had only received donated food commodities.

Over and above these assignments, the Federal government issued orders to initiate a crack-down on alleged welfare abuse, fraud and to correct worker errors. Although national statistics indicated that Missouri led the larger states in minimizing quality control errors and that it had the best record in the region which included Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas, it was still required to produce improvements or risk the loss of Federal funds. The staff was somehow able to improve our error rate sufficiently to avoid financial sanctions.

We moved successfully from target date to target date and from achievement to achievement but received little if any recognition from the Governor. His support would have bolstered staff morale and would have led to an improved service delivery system. Instead, we constantly had to defend ourselves to the Governor's staff over reports submitted to them by Federal officials, politically inspired constituents and sometimes over unfounded or erroneous charges carried by some of the press.

The welfare department had a positive working relationship with the press corps. The exception was a series of articles in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, over a six-month period commencing approximately January 1974. The articles used published or other public information and interviews with staff, claiming to reveal the terrible waste and inefficiency surrounding the Missouri welfare picture. The articles did not directly attack me, but I found them to be offensive and, more important, they were misleading to the public and tended to balloon the problems out of proportion to what actually existed. Moreover, they undermined the difficult administrative task of operating a state welfare system and yet did little to remedy the situation.

This unfavorable newspaper publicity, along with the occasion of the state reorganization, conveniently provided an excuse for my resignation from state government. Realistically, the end would have come in any case because of basic philosophical differences between myself and the administration. For example, in 1974 the Governor vetoed a nine percent cost of living increase in Aid to Dependent Children benefits, overwhelmingly approved by the Legislature, at a time when actual living costs had risen approximately 20% since the previous benefit increase. It was done without consulting with me even as a matter of courtesy, perhaps knowing where I stood on the matter.

On another occasion, a list of bills was circulated among Republican legislators indicating the Governor's opposition. One of the bills cited, according to news reports, included a

parenthetical note "Shulimson's folly." This bill should have been treated as a measure which would put Missouri's Supplemental Security Income program into compliance with Federal law and also assure the aged, blind and disabled that their state benefit entitlement would not decrease in the future even though certain Federal benefits might go up as a result of Congressional action. The bill was affirmed by both Houses in a landslide. The Administration unwisely opposed what amounted to landmark legislation which at the time resulted in a superior income maintenance program for needy Missouri aged, blind and disabled. Although many now take credit for this important legislation, I would be surprised if it is remembered as "Shulimson's folly."

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(continued from page five)

dealing with licensing of drivers and motor vehicles; (2) automobile and homeowners insurance premiums and availability according to policyholder's neighborhood; (3) employment security administration in Missouri; (4) laws relating to voting machines; and (5) state's tax structure and system of assessment.

"Harvest of a Quiet Eye," (Tamarack Press, Madison, Wisc. a handsome work which combines John Burroughs writings with superb color photos near his midwest home. The love of nature shines through Burroughs' (1837-1921) works. The book represents exceptionally well John Burroughs' belief that "the message of nature lies close at hand." The text selection and photos (by Greg Duza) are edited by Charles F. Davis and are a treasure for lovers of nature without artifice. The book also includes many historical photos of Burroughs. Edwin Way Teale wrote the introduction.

Citizen Manual Details Techniques: The Missouri Municipal League has available an MML Citizen Participation Manual: A Guide to More Effective Citizen Involvement (1913 William Street, Jefferson City 65101, \$5.00). The manual was prepared by Planalysis, Inc. to help local governments which are looking for ways to improve their programs, and who share the following goals: 1) that communication be a 2-way interchange; 2) that citizens have access to the decision-making process; and 3) that the city openly disseminate information about its government.

Some of the areas covered include: discussion of existing citizen involvement programs in each Missouri city, staffing for citizen involvement and communication, citizen sound-off, use of visual and graphic communication, working with the media, and preparing and conducting an attitude survey. The manual focuses on methods of communication rather than on the structural form of citizen groups.

The purpose of this manual is to provide a detailed catalogue of techniques for city staff members who are responsible for improving citizen participation and communication, with detailed descriptions of programs that have been used successfully by other cities in Missouri and throughout the country.

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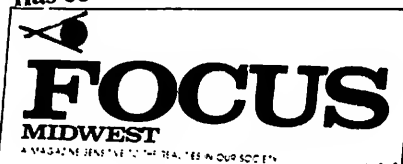
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Our last issue (Vol. 11, No. 69) is being used as supplementary course reading by teachers, as a basic manual by community organizers, as an indication of "where the action is" by politicians and activists. This examination of current socio-political movements with mass constituencies is composed of six case studies covering trade union insurgency, economic development in the black community, the women's movement, and community organizing.

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The issue deals with happenings today. As the introduction states, "We have to recognize that the euphoric popular politics of the 1960s is well behind us . . . But seeds were planted and they are growing in a somewhat different soil . . . in the seventies popular organizations are based more in working-class and lower middle-class ethnic and racial groupings. Hard day-to-day organizing has come to take precedence over rhetoric."



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Chicago: A medical wasteland

BY PIERRE DE VISE



Chicago had more doctors in 1900 than in 1974. The city's physicians grew in number from 3,300 in 1900 to a peak of 5,800 in 1950, but started a slow slide downward in the following decade. The physical exodus became a rout after 1960. The city, once a world medical center, lost 1,770 private physicians in the last 15 years, from 4,580 in 1960 to 2,815 in 1974.

In terms of population served, Chicago's current physician-population ratio is the lowest in the city's history, and is expected to establish new record lows every year for the next 20 years.

Chicago had almost two doctors for every 1,000 people between 1840 and 1930. This ratio gradually slipped. Chicago today has half as many doctors per capita as it had in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

So many doctors moved from Chicago to the suburbs in the last 15 years that the suburbs now enjoy a slight edge in physicians per 1,000 people over the central city (1.06 versus .89). Thus, the ratio of physicians per 1,000 for the entire metropolitan area is higher than that of the city (.98). In the peak year of 1950, Chicago's ratio was 70 percent higher than that of the suburbs. (See Table).

Chicago, still national headquarters of the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, the Blue Cross Association and the American Dental Association, is the only large metropolitan area to have fewer private physicians today than 15 years ago. Incredibly, metropolitan Chicago's physician population ratio is today one-fourth below that of the average for the nation's large metropolitan areas (.98 versus 1.31 per 1,000).

The six-fold increase in federal health care spending since 1960, and the related expansion of medical jobs in medical schools and hospitals are major reasons for Chicago's dwindling supply of private practitioners.

Vastly increased federal spending has no doubt contributed greatly to the 50 per cent increase in the nation's physician population since 1960 — directly through subsidies to medical education and indirectly by adding to demand for medical services, with consequent inflationary effects on physician income. However, this greatly increased economic demand for the services of physicians has further reinforced the physician's freedom of choice of

where to locate. Physicians have exercised this greater freedom by further concentrating in urban centers that are most desirable in terms of the three attractions of affluence, density and amenities. Thus, the centers of the East and West Coast, that were already endowed with two to three times the physician population ratio of less attractive centers, simply increased their advantage.

Total physician population in metropolitan Chicago actually increased since 1950 (from 9,270 to 13,060). But the entire gain was accounted for by suburban practitioners and by salaried physicians working for hospitals, schools, and government. As a consequence, the percent of all physicians engaged in private practice slipped from 80 percent in 1950 to 52 percent in 1974.

Greater physician mobility has hurt metropolitan Chicago not only by shortchanging it in its share of the nation's physicians, but also by greatly aggravating the maldistribution of physicians within its region. Doctors have traditionally favored office locations in affluent and densely populated communities for accessibility both to patients able to pay for their services and to hospitals where they see their patients, and for proximity to the fashionable neighborhoods where they reside.

Downtown Chicago remains far and away the single location that best meets all these criteria. But the number of physicians with Loop offices has dropped precipitously from 1,770 to 542 since 1950, and its share of metropolitan physicians slid from 25 to 5 percent during this period.

Among the major concentric demographic zones of the city, the greatest physician losses since 1960 occurred in the 1960-74 ghetto extension where the physicians plummeted from 486 to 111 (from 1.33 to 0.29 per 1,000). The next greatest losses occurred in the 1960 black ghetto, down from 481 to 282 physicians (0.55 to 0.42 per 1,000) and in the contiguous white zone, down from 536 to 303 physicians (0.96 to 0.59 per 1,000). The inner biracial zone saw its physician population drop from 722 to 493. Because this zone includes the doctor-rich Gold Coast, its physician population ratio is still a respectable 1.29 per 1,000 (down from 1.75 per 1,000). The outlying white zone, which includes most of the city's white population, suffered the smallest loss of physicians since 1960, down

Private Physicians in the Chicago area

	Number			per 1,000 population		
	1950	1970	1974	1950	1970	1974
Chicago	5,796	3,807	2,815	1.60	1.13	.89
Suburbs	1,418	3,260	4,106	.91	.94	1.06
SMSA	7,214	7,067	6,921	1.39	1.03	.98

from 1,331 to 1,084 (1.00 to .884).

These figures understate the absolute losses of physicians. Virtually all the physicians who were practicing in the two ghetto zones in 1960 have moved out since. A fraction of these were replaced by younger, mostly foreign-trained doctors many of them attracted by Medicaid dollars. Medicaid payments to Chicago doctors zoomed from \$26,480,000 in 1970 to \$59,070,000 in 1974. About 400 of the doctors now practicing in the two ghetto zones earn an average \$50,000 a year from welfare medicine. Because of its larger rates of welfare population the older ghetto zone is thus able to maintain a much higher physician population ratio than the newer and more affluent ghetto extension (0.42 versus 0.29 per 1,000).

The greater Englewood area is typical of the plight of the two ghetto zones. This area, made up of Englewood and six contiguous communities, lost over three-fourths of its physicians since 1960. Its physician population ratio is down to an anemic 0.20 per 1,000, way below the 0.35 per 1,000 ratio which is used by the National Health Service Corps in the designation of medically underserved counties. Unfortunately, the Englewood area is not a county, even though it contains more population than all but a couple of the state's counties. Englewood even lost one of its hospitals. In 1972, St. George decided to follow its doctors to the Palos area 20 miles southwest.

Racial and economic changes are the major explanations for the flight of doctors and hospitals from the Englewood area and the rest of the ghetto zones. Generally, black people and less affluent people are more in need of medical care than white and more affluent people. The two most accepted measures of a community's health are the infant death rate and life expectancy. These rates are dramatically worse in the ghetto zones.

While infant deaths in the other zones slid from 26 to 19 per 1,000 births since 1960, the older ghetto zone and the new ghetto zone saw their rates climb, respectively, from 37 to 38, and from 22 to 27 per 1,000. Average life expectancy rose from 67 to 70 years in the white zones while slipping slightly in the older ghetto zone and the new ghetto zone, respectively from 59.4 to 59.0 and from 67.1 to 65.3 years.

The worsening distribution of physicians

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the flight of physicians from inner city and rural communities is the failure of dozens of public and private programs, most outstandingly Medicaid, the OEO Neighborhood Health Centers, Model Cities, Health Maintenance Organizations, and the National Health Service Corps, involving billions of dollars of funds, to make any headway toward reversing the apparently irreversible flight of physicians from areas of greatest need to areas of greatest wealth. Chicago cannot even manage to keep two-thirds of its medical school graduates from gravitating to more glamorous medical meccas on the west and east coasts.

Foreign medical graduates, lured by \$50,000-a-year welfare practices, make up about three-fourths of the physicians establishing practices in Chicago.

The projection of future physician needs for metropolitan Chicago is complex indeed when the consequences of the area's gain of 3,800 physicians since 1960 is examined. More physicians have meant fewer private practitioners and fewer physicians of any kind for all but a handful of the city's communities. Even if the national norm of 1.38 physicians per 1,000 is accepted as the desired metropolitan area goal, ways would have to be found to implement this goal.

Unless the trend of retention losses can be reversed, and some way found for Chicago to successfully compete against superior climate amenities, gains in local medical school production will benefit California more than the Chicago metropolitan area.

If the number of physicians could be raised to match the national norms, there would then remain the goals of redressing the geographic maldistribution of physicians and of making better use of hospital-based practitioners for delivering primary care services. There are, unfortunately, few good models to follow. The OEO Neighborhood Health Center model of the 1960's has given way to the Health Maintenance Organization model of the 1970's as the panacea for improving health delivery services. But HMO will do no better than OEO unless this health delivery model can keep Chicago graduates in Illinois, and unless it can attract these graduates to practice in communities with the greatest need, rather than in communities with the greatest wealth.

Keeping Chicago's hospitals solvent

Although most of the city's hospitals are remaining, a number of smaller community hospitals in the inner city have closed their doors and followed physicians to the suburbs. St. George Hospital, which has relocated, is one of three hospitals in the inner city that have considered closing or moving to the suburbs in large part because of the wholesale exodus of physicians' offices to the suburbs.

Incentives alone are not sufficient to induce doctors to practice where they are needed. Hill-Burton hospital and clinic construction funds and many other federal programs have helped subsidize the suburbanization of physicians and hospitals. A moratorium on these kinds of public subsidies should be considered when they facilitate the flight of hospitals and doctors out of inner city and rural areas.

These federal funds could be diverted to inner city hospitals prepared to equip and operate outpatient departments that would provide primary ambulatory care in communities lacking private physicians. The physician-population ratio of communities should become a criterion of need in the determination of hospital and clinic construction priorities under Hill-Burton. A diversion of federal funds from communities with a deficit of physicians is the least that the government could do in slowing down the flight of hospitals and doctors to affluent suburban communities.

Until this happens, the community must do all in its power to enable hospitals like St. Bernard to improve their ability to retain physicians and serve the medical needs of the Englewood area.

Pierre DeVise is a frequent contributor to FOCUS/Midwest. He is assistant professor in the College of Urban Studies, University of Illinois and the author of many books and articles.

The politics of mental health

Home and community services should replace much of institutional care

BY ANDREA HORWICH

Illinois' 27 state mental health institutions are inadequate, according to many people who claim to know about them.

If they are to continue to provide most of the state's mental health services, they need the money.

But there is a growing disposition in the state to give them less money. Whether state institutions should be supported at all — indeed whether they are at all necessary — has become an issue.

Community mental health programs, emphasizing outpatient care and close-to-home treatment, have proved so successful that some voices have been raised calling for the scrapping of the hospitals, some of which date back to custodial-care days.

Yet, according to statistics from fiscal year 1976, the community programs received but about \$80,000,000 out of the state budget of \$399,000,900, the remaining eighty percent going to the state institutions.

The system of funding mental health programs in Illinois is complex, but one thing that emerges clearly is that at least some of the state money presently supporting state institutions could be put to better use by local community-based programs.

View of mental illness has changed

According to Dr. Harold Shulman, director of the Champaign County Mental Health Center, the main advantage of community services is that they are based on the idea that mental illness is "episodic," whereas the institutions were founded on the belief that mental illness is a lifetime condition.

"Nobody would argue that people sometimes need that 'stop-the-world' kind of escape, but very few people need to be institutionalized for their whole life," says Shulman.

He also said he feels that residual care is useful for those with brain damage, because every community "could not possibly" have adequate facilities for such treatment.

"All other services are best delivered close to home," Shulman says.

Dr. Prakash N. Desai, regional administrator of the Department of Mental Health and Developmental Disabilities for Region 2, says he supports the state institutions. Desai,

whose region includes Chicago, attributes the decrease in population at state hospitals and the increase in use of community mental health services to a "dramatic decrease since the 1960's in the length of stay at the institutions from about two years to 19-30 days."

The result has been a better staff-patient ratio and higher quality care, which does take money to maintain, according to Desai. Cost cutbacks the department might be able to make are prevented by inflation.

Institution are also political issue

The closing of the state institutions is not just a mental health issue, but an "economic, social, and political" one, Desai says.

"Mental health professionals have planned within the confines of their professionalism. Yet a small town's economy may depend upon the institution that is located there."

Norton Kay, Governor Daniel Walker's press secretary, concurs with this point. For that reason, he says, Walker has repeatedly stated that no institutions would be closed while he was governor.

According to Desai, the question of whether the mental health institutions should be closed must not be decided by mental health officials alone, but mostly by legislators. According to Shulman, however, it will indeed be the legislators who initiate the closures that he feels are necessary.

"Ultimately the legislators will balk at the expense involved in maintaining and improving the institutions so that they meet federal requirements for accreditation," he says. He adds that the cost of keeping one person in an institution averages about \$50,000 a year, which amounts to quite a bit, considering that there are about 300 people in each institution. Shulman says this cost could be cut if just five institutions were closed, and the patients requiring long-term residential care moved to remaining institutions.

Regarding employment, Shulman cites Massachusetts' plan as an effective solution. The state paid one year's salary to all former employees of the institutions, all of which were closed. The former state employees were trained for community work and given first consideration for new jobs in that area.



"The janitors would still be in civil service," he says, "but there are a dozen professionals in this community who should be employed and we cannot employ them. We have a tremendous overload and a lot of patients waiting. No matter how they slice it, there's another group of unemployed in the community."

Shift to outpatient care

The history of mental health services in the United States, not to mention Illinois, is one of changing attitudes toward the treatment of the mentally ill. Ron Dolgon, staff consultant in region 3-B for the Department's Children and Adolescent Programs, points out that the idea of mental health services first developed about 100 years ago.

"There was an impetus in the late 1800's in the area of mental health and retardation services. It was an era of 'humane care' in which people realized that the mentally handicapped needed care, instead of being abused and out-cast," Dolgon says.

This led to the creation of institutions and asylums, such as Lincoln State School and the Kankakee State Hospital in Illinois. The adult mentally ill and the retarded were placed in such institutions to remove them from the community and to provide them with care and rest. The idea behind the state institutions was to create a more unified system of care — thus presumably a more efficient one. But with the development of Freudian psychology, according to Dolgon, people began to realize that the mentally ill could be actively treated — that mere care and rest were no longer enough.

At the same time, public dissatisfaction with "old-line" institutions for the developmentally disabled was increasing. Movements toward outpatient clinics for the mentally ill and more effective treatment for the developmentally disabled were stepped up during World War II.

That was largely due to new methods of treatment developed by Army mental health personnel, who were faced with the urgent necessity of enabling mental health patients to function as soldiers as rapidly as possible. Army researchers discovered that some units had fewer instances of mental illness than others, depending on such factors as "leadership, comradery and other areas of support," according to Dolgon. New techniques of short-term treatment

were discovered, rendering long-term residential care obsolete in many cases.

The National Mental Health Act of 1946, providing training grants and grants-in-aid to the states for research and for community mental health clinics, was thus well-timed.

Another big boost to the national trend toward community facilities was the discovery of tranquilizing drugs in the 1950's. They minimized the rate of patient extrusion (persons having to leave the community for long-term residential care), thus increasing the demand for community services. In 1963 Congress passed the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Act, which authorized federal grants for the construction of community mental health facilities, and in 1965 the act was amended to include staffing funds.

Illinois funding

Developments in Illinois paralleled those on the national scene. In 1960, Illinois voters passed a \$150 million bond issue; \$100 million was allocated for the revamping of state institutions and \$50 million for the construction of zone centers — community-based mental health clinics offering a complete range of psychiatric services. The zone centers were to be the link between community and state facilities.

A series of legislative measures further augmented the transition from state to local programs. Senate Bill 377, in 1961, permits counties to tax their citizens to provide comprehensive health planning. The seven counties that adopted the system provide over \$400,000 per year for mental health services.

House Bill 708, the Community Mental Health Act, was passed in 1963. Thirty-seven of the 102 counties in the state, including Champaign County, now have community mental health boards to administer programs for the mentally ill and developmentally disabled, enacted by local referendum and financed by local tax funds. These communities provide over \$5 million per year for mental health services.

Finally, Senate Bill 553, passed in 1969, permits counties with public health departments to tax residents for programs for the developmentally disabled. Thirty-six counties provide \$1.5 million under that program.

DANIEL
PERLMUTTER



These attempts to fund community mental health programs through federal and local monies have not been entirely successful. Despite the general shift by the state from inpatient to outpatient services, statistics show that the allocation of the state budget does not correspond.

"Illinois mental health remains fiscally dominated by inpatient treatment and care in its 27 institutions," according to a report by James F. Ragan, a consultant hired by the department in November, 1974.

Those who favor increased state grants-in-aid for community programs are fast becoming the majority. The Department of Mental Health itself supports such increased funding. Ragan's report contains a general outline of the department's position, which however warns that "while increases in the grant-in-aid program can be expected every year, the annual increases have limitations."

The department's position is based on its definition of community mental health programs that are eligible for state funding. Their services are "necessary to restore to functional level and adequate social competence all those patients who are former department patients or who are in danger of being extruded from the community because of mental illness of disability," according to Ragan's report.

The report cites the fact that mental health is not the only state priority, and the belief that community use of federal funds has proven that communities cannot always use sharp increases effectively, as additional considerations that contribute to the department's position.

Furthermore, Ragan holds that under the department's formula for determining grants-in-aid, "if communities do develop services for the patients in greatest need, they ultimately stand to obtain proportionately more grant funds per patient than they are now receiving."

According to Dolgon, 24-hour care provided by the state is less expensive than that provided by the community. Furthermore, for the state to be able to hold the mental health budget level and at the same time increase grants-in-aid, the seven planning regions would have to equalize the efficiency and effectiveness of their mental health programs.

Shulman acknowledges the increased grants, but he points out that the communities are now expected to perform some of the "housekeeping" functions formerly taken care of by the state, such as monitoring beds at the zone centers.

Champaign County among most progressive

Region 3-B, in which Champaign County is located, has one of the most progressive mental health systems in the state, Dolgon feels. The two state-run zone centers in 3-B are the Adolf Meyer Zone Center in Decatur, a mental hospital, and the Herman Adler Zone Center in Champaign, a mental health center for children. Only 469 patients from 3-B remain in the old-line institutions. That is the lowest number for any region in the state.

This low rate of extrusion reflects an increasing tendency toward preventive mental health services. Such services can only be community-based, as they consist of clinics and hotlines available at any time to anyone. This concept of accessibility is designed to prevent mental breakdowns, or milder mental disorders, from occurring. The extent to

which preventive care is successful determines the community's rate of extrusion.

These local efforts depend not only on sufficient funds, but also on the education of the entire community. Shulman emphasizes that in order to secure the mental patient's success in the community, whether he is an outpatient or has just been released from a residential care unit, the fears and prejudices commonly held with regard to mental illness must be dealt with. Shulman feels, in fact, that mental patients are often sent away not for their benefit, but for that of the community.

Such considerations have led Shulman to conclude that the whole idea of institutions is outmoded. Most of the solutions proposed, however, are based upon more conventional viewpoints.

A report issued by the Illinois Economic and Fiscal Commission reflects the trend toward community-based, preventive mental health care, and offers some concrete plans. It recommends that state funds be given to community mental health planning agencies, rather than to the mental health centers themselves, on the theory that this would promote a more unified and accountable mental health system. It also recommends that the state be responsible for patients released from state facilities until they report to the appropriate community agency.

Regarding the rights of mental patients, the report recommends an ombudsman, an idea that is mentioned in the Ragan report. For further protection, the report also recommends that legal counsel be available for people before they are committed to institutions.

Whether short-term or long-term institutions need be operated by the state, and what can be done to improve the financial picture of mental health services statewide will probably be debated for some time. Increased grants from the state might be helpful in the short run, but more substantial changes will eventually be needed.

Shulman has two suggestions. First, he would mandate the department to create a five-year program to allow the gradual closing of some state institutions and the increase in community grants. Second, he proposes a system adopted by Kentucky and Massachusetts which provides that all federal and state monies come to a local board, which allows for the fact that each county has different needs.

Shulman also says that Region 2, which Desai feels is running smoothly, has no system of community services. That accounts, he says, for the high admission rate into the state hospitals, which Desai attributed to the high quality of hospital care.

"Chicago is back in the 1920's, using the state hospitals for things like emergencies or neurotic conditions. You can be admitted wrongly under that system, and then have it on your record that you were admitted to an institution," Shulman says.

Such a system is indeed outmoded. But with the vested interests of so many doctors, employees and politicians lodged firmly in the continued operation of the hospitals, the shift to community services may be a long time coming.

Ms. Horwich is a recent graduate in journalism from the University of Illinois. She has a special interest in social services.

Conservative coalition support drops

The top-heavy Democratic majorities in the House and Senate during 1975 pushed the conservative coalition's success level down to its lowest point since the 89th Congress 10 years ago.

The coalition formed on 28 percent of the votes in each chamber during 1975. This represented a slight drop in the Senate from the 30 percent level of the previous year, but a substantial increase over the 19 percent of the time the coalition appeared in the House during 1974.

However, since there were fewer Republicans in each chamber in 1975, the coalition's victory percentage dropped sharply. The coalition won only 48 percent of the 166 Senate votes on which it appeared, down from 54 percent in 1974. This was its worst showing there since 1965.

In the House, the coalition performed slightly better, winning 52 percent of the 170 votes on which it formed. But this was still 15 percentage points below the 67 percent level of 1974, and the poorest showing since 1966.

Conservative Coalition Support and Opposition:

1. Conservative Coalition Support, 1975. Percentage of conservative coalition recorded votes in 1975 on which repr. or sen. voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

2. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 1975. Percentage of conservative coalition recorded votes in 1975 on which repr. or sen. voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

3. Conservative Coalition Support, 93rd Congress. Percentage of conservative coalition recorded votes in 1973 and 1974 on which repr. or sen. voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

4. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 93rd Congress. Percentage of conservative coalition recorded votes in 1973 and 1974 on which repr. or sen. voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

U.S. Congress sets a record for attendance

Congress in 1975 set a record for attendance on recorded votes — and at the same time established a new record for the number of votes taken during a session.

The average member voted on 91 percent of all recorded votes in 1975, two points higher than the previous record established in 1956 (and equaled in 1959 and 1973) and four points above the 1974 mark. A total of 1,214 recorded votes was taken in the House and Senate, 79 more than in 1973 when the previous record was set.

As is usual, House members voted more often than senators. The average representative voted 91 percent of the time, the average senator 89. Senators have not outvoted House members on a percentage basis since 1962.

For the first time since 1962, House Democrats were not outvoted by House Republicans. In 1975 each party voted 91 percent of the time. In the Senate, Republicans led 90 to 88. For the two chambers together, the score was 91 for Democrats and 91 for Republicans.

(Among those absent for a day or more in 1975 because of their illness or illness or death in their families were from Missouri: Symington; and from Illinois: Collins, Fary, Yates, Anderson, Madigan, and O'Brien.)

SENATORS

ILLINOIS

Stevenson	90	93
Percy	85	78

MISSOURI

Eagleton	90	88
Symington	80	84

Voting Participation Scores: House

1. Voting Participation, 1975. Percentage of recorded votes in 1975 on which repr. or sen. voted "yea" or "nay."

2. Voting Participation, 93rd Congress. Percentage of recorded votes in 1973 and 1974 on which repr. or sen. voted "yea" or "nay."

REPRESENTATIVES

ILLINOIS

Metcalf (D-1)	78	81
Murphy (D-2)	98	89
Russo (D-3)	96	—
Derwinski (R-4)	94	87
Fary (D-5) ¹	49†	—
Hyde (R-6)	97	—
Collins (D-7) [‡]	78	89*
Rostenkowski (D-8)	89	82
Yates (D-9) [‡]	95	97
Mikva (D-10)	92	—
Annunzio (D-11)	86	96
Crane (R-12)	90	85
McClory (R-13)	90	93
Erlenborn (R-14)	89	87
Hall (D-15)	99	—
Anderson (R-16) [‡]	84	80
O'Brien (R-17) [‡]	87†	91*
Michel (R-18)	89	85
Railsback (R-19)	84	88*
Findley (R-20)	90	90
Madigan (R-21) [‡]	92	91*
Shibley (D-22)	87	84
Price (D-23)	92	99
Simon (D-24)	95	—

MISSOURI

Clay (D-1)	90	76
Symington (D-2) [‡]	86	87
Sullivan (D-3)	86	85
Randall (D-4)	93	94*
Bolling (D-5)	94	81
Litton (D-6)	88	85
Taylor (R-7)	94†	84
Ichord (D-8)	92	88
Hungate (D-9)	91	96
Burlison (D-10)	99	97

¹ Rep. John C. Kluczynski (D-III.) died Jan. 27, 1975. He voted on all three votes for which he was eligible. Rep. John G. Fary (D) sworn in July 15, 1975, to replace Kluczynski.

KEY

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1975.

* Not eligible for all recorded votes in 93rd Congress.

— Not a member of 93rd Congress.

‡ Member absent a day or more in 1975 due to illness, or illness or death in the family.

ILLINOIS

Metcalf (D-1)	2	78	4	76
Murphy (D-2)	26	72	26	67
Russo (D-3)	29	68	—	—
Derwinski (R-4)	74	19	77	20
Fary (D-5) ¹	9†	44†	—	—
Hyde (R-6)	85	14	—	—
Collins (D-7)	9	71	7*	82*
Rostenkowski (D-8)	22	71	24	62
Yates (D-9)	8	86	9	89
Mikva (D-10)	6	85	—	—
Annunzio (D-11)	28	55	32	64
Crane (R-12)	91	4	78	6
McClory (R-13)	71	20	60	35
Erlenborn (R-14)	72	15	60	24
Hall (D-15)	14	84	—	—
Anderson (R-16)	56	35	45	44
O'Brien (R-17)	75†	13†	74	19
Michel (R-18)	82	10	83	9
Railsback (R-19)	63	26	54*	37*
Findley (R-20)	64	27	46	47
Madigan (R-21)	71	23	63	29
Shibley (D-22)	52	38	54	37
Price (D-23)	24	68	24	76
Simon (D-24)	16	77	—	—

MISSOURI

Clay (D-1)	2	86	2	74
Symington (D-2)	30	59	25	53
Sullivan (D-3)	33	57	27	60
Randall (D-4)	69	26	59	37
Bolling (D-5)	25	70	19	59
Litton (D-6)	36	52	48	42
Taylor (R-7)	94	2	82	4
Ichord (D-8)	79	13	77	12
Hungate (D-9)	34	53	40	58
Burlison (D-10)	49	51	54	43

¹ Rep. John C. Kluczynski (D III.) died Jan. 27, 1975. He was not eligible for any coalition votes. Rep. John G. Fary (D) sworn in July 15, 1975, to replace Kluczynski.

KEY

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1975.

* Not eligible for all recorded votes in 93rd Congress.

— Not a member of 93rd Congress.

Low productivity marks 1976 Missouri legislative session

A hallmark in a legislative session which has been criticized for the low number of measures to complete the legislative process has been the passage of the public defender bill. The bill which boosts the annual funding ceiling and expands the number of public defenders in the state also provides legal services to indigent persons accused of crimes carrying jail terms and to juveniles.

Other bills passing in the last days of the session were mandatory three-year prison terms for persons convicted of committing a felon with a dangerous weapon, revisions of the state's court system and establishment of a new small claims court.

The General Assembly did act to establish a bipartisan commission to study the state's tax structure, but refused to take more definitive action in the area of tax reform, particularly the exemption of food and drugs from sales tax.

Surviving the appropriations process is \$575,000 to allow the Department of Mental Health to begin partial financial support of local community mental health centers.

Such funding was viewed by many as essential for the survival of Missouri mental health centers.

Failure by the General Assembly to pass federally required legislation to set up a system to locate absent parents and obtain support (Title IV-D) will result in the withholding of \$1.2 million in federal aid each quarter beginning in January. The legislation which failed on the last night of the session was seen by some legislators as continued federal intervention in state operations. Governor Bond has said that the state will fight the federal government in court to prevent these penalties.

Other bills that were allowed to die this session were the revision of the state's criminal code, a bill to require a speedy trial and legislation to protect rape victims from harassment related to prior sexual conduct.

The legislators also failed to deal with the issue of funding for the state's school system and the inequities in the property tax system.

(Excerpted from Citizen's Voice, MASW.)

Missouri House votes are recorded for the first nine bills listed below. The following seven, while important, were not contested and are not recorded. The House vote on the public defender bill and all the Senate votes will be recorded in a future issue. We hope that this partial report on the 1976 session will aid our readers in the August primary.

HB 1038 & 1152. State Minimum Wage. Would enact a minimum wage law for the State of Missouri setting a minimum wage at \$2.25 per hour. Establishes a 40-hour work week and would require time-and-a-half overtime for work in excess of 40 hours per week. Establishes wage rates below minimum wage for certain classes of employees. (Dirck) HCS-P/H April 14 (92-40-19-12); D/SC.

HB 1120. Red-Lining Disclosure. Would require all banks, savings and loan institutions, insurance companies, and mortgage banking institutions operating in Missouri to file semi-annual reports with the state Division of Finance listing by census tract the number and amount of home construction and improvement loans granted to neighborhoods within metropolitan counties. (Gardner) I/H (postponed indefinitely) March 10 (78-68-17-0).

HB 1561. Repeal of Blue Laws. Would repeal Missouri's law banning Sunday sales of certain items. (Quarles) HCS-P/H April 8 (88-56-16-3); D/SC.

HB 1678. Economic Interests Disclosure. Would require persons holding public office in Missouri to file a statement of economic interests prior to taking office. (Baker-27) HS-P/H April 13 (110-40-13-0); P/SC April 28.

HJR 61. Reduction in Size of General Assembly. Would provide for the reduction in the size of the House of Representatives from 163 members to 125 members. Reapportionment of the House would be entrusted to the State Supreme Court. Would reduce the minimum age of Representatives and Senators to 21 years, and would prohibit them from representing clients or other persons before any state executive agency for remuneration. (Holt) HCS-P/H March 11 (110-41-11-0); D/SC.

SB 470. Medical Negligence Statute of Lim-

itations. Would limit actions brought against the providers of health care services to within two years from the date of the act of malpractice or negligence. (Spradling) CCS SCS-P/S April 30 (27-1-5-0); CCS SCS-P/H April 30 (136-12-15-0).

SB 476. Revisions in Campaign Expenditures Law. Would permit the grouping of campaign expenditures of less than \$10; eliminates the gift disclosure requirement except for gifts from non-related individuals; eliminates the requirement for income disclosure except if it exceeds the reasonable value of work or services rendered for such compensation. (Spradling) P/S March 25 (24-2-7-0); P/H April 30 (109-43-11-0).

SB 487. 18-Year-Old Majority Rights. Would permit 18-year-olds to be employed in and to handle the products of any brewery, distillery, or wholesale distributor. Does not permit 18-year-olds to handle or serve alcohol or beer in retail establishments. (Schechter & Bild) P/S March 22; P/H March 18 (105-37-21-0); A/G April 7.

SJR 24. Judicial Reform. Would amend the Missouri Constitution to abolish Magistrate Courts, Probate Courts, Courts of Common Pleas, the St. Louis Court of Criminal Corrections, and Municipal Courts. Jurisdictions of these courts would be transferred to the Circuit Courts and Associate Circuit Judges would be established to carry the extra load. (Schechter) CCS-P/S April 30 (25-5-3-0); CCS-P/H April 30 (108-34-18-3).

UNCONTESTED BILLS: These measures are not recorded in the voting records

HB 1162. Public Hearings Before Setting Property Tax Rates. Would require county courts to hold public hearings on proposed property tax rates. Sets forth requirements for posting notice of such hearings. (DeCoster) CCS-P/H April 8 (137-0-26-0); CCS-P/S April 30 (25-5-3-0).

HB 1231, 997, 1024, 1116, 1332, 1346.

Mandatory Sentence For Felons Using Firearms. Would provide for a mandatory three-year sentence for the commission of a felony with the use of a firearm. Persons so convicted would not be eligible for probation, suspended sentence, parole, or conditional release during that term. (Binger, Snyder, Sharp, Bockenkamp, Volkmer, Vossmeier, & Ottinger) CCS-P/H April 29 (139-4-20-0); CCS-P/S April 29 (29-0-4-0).

HB 1309. Joint Underwriters for Medical Malpractice Insurance. Would authorize the Director of the Division of Insurance to promulgate reasonable plans for the equitable apportionment among all insurance companies in Missouri of medical malpractice liability insurance if it is not available in the voluntary market. (Meyer) HS-P/H April 26 (132-0-31-0); HS-P/S April 22 (29-1-3-0).

HB 1327. Admissibility of Evidence in Rape Prosecutions. Would limit accessibility of evidence of prior sexual conduct of the complaining witness in prosecutions of crimes of rape. (Vossmeier & Buechner) HS-P/H March 16 (144-7-11-1); P/SC April 1.

HB 1437. Speedy Trials. Would set forth time limits within which certain criminal proceedings must occur when a defendant is charged in an information or indictment for the commission of an offense. (Martin & Holliday) HS-P/H March 16 (143-0-20-0); P/SC April 13.

HB 1478. Billboard Advertising Limited. Would provide that billboards erected beyond 660 feet of highway right-of-ways outside urban areas shall be unlawful and are subject to removal. (Gardner) HCS-P/H April 30 (138-9-15-1); HCS-P/S April 30 (30-0-3-0).

SB 641. Blind Person Benefits Increased. Increases the monthly Blind Person Benefit from \$120 to \$135. (Cason) P/S April 7 (30-0-3-0); P/H April 30 (130-0-33-0).

1976 MISSOURI HOUSE VOTES

1976 Mo. Hse. Votes	HB 1038	HB 1120	HB 1561	HB 1678	HJR 61	SB 470	SB 476	SB 487	SJR 24
REPRESENTATIVES									
Aikens (D-66)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Arnold (D-131)	A	N	A	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bailey (R-152)	P	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Baker (D-27)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	Y
Baker (D-15)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Banks (D-80)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Barry (D-105)	Y	N	N	A	N	Y	N	Y	N
Becker (D-123)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Betz (R-3)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Binger (D-41)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Blackwell (D-120)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Blackwell (D-144)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Blakeley (R-139)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Blassie (D-98)	A	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bockenkamp (D-128)	Y	A	A	N	Y	Y	N	N	A
Brady (D-61)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Brockfeld (R-108)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bruckerhoff (R-127)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Buechner (R-94)	P	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	A	Y
Burke (D-73)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Butts (R-132)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Calloway (D-81)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Carrington (D-67)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cline (D-159)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Coleman (R-21)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Copeland (D-161)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Countie (R-90)	A	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Curls (D-28)	Y	A	N	Y	A	Y	Y	A	A
Dames (D-50)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	Y	N
Davidson (D-117)	Y	N	P	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Decoster (D-1)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Defield (D-160)	A	N	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Dickson (R-112)	P	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Dill (R-102)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dirck (D-72)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Doll (D-29)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Donegan (R-146)	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Downing (D-162)	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	A	N
Drake (D-5)	N	N	P	Y	Y	N	N	A	N
Durnell (R-149)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dyer (R-51)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Ellis (D-154)	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Esser (R-33)	N	A	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Fazzino (D-22)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	N
Feigenbaum (D-59)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fendler (D-104)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Fickle (D-17)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Fowler (D-69)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Gann (R-142)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Gardner (D-92)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Garrett (D-124)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Goode (D-68)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goward (D-65)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	Y	Y
Griffin (D-10)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hadley (D-31)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hamlett (D-48)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Hancock (D-153)	Y	Y	N	Y	A	A	A	N	A
Harmon (R-140)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hedrick (D-116)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	P
Heflin (D-39)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hoblitzeller (R-75)	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Hoffman (R-89)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Holliday (D-26)	Y	N	P	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Holt (D-109)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Howard (D-157)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Howard (D-49)	P	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Huffman (R-91)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Johnson (R-44)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Jones (D-74)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jordan (D-25)	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Kaye (R-11)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Kelly (R-143)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Kenton (D-32)	P	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	P
King (D-16)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	Y
Kostron (D-99)	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Lang (R-114)	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Leisure (D-83)	A	N	A	N	Y	A	A	Y	Y
Lewis (D-125)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lowenstein (R-34)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Lynn (D-148)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Maddox (D-163)	P	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Maloney (D-45)	Y	A	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mareschal (D-57)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marriott (D-37)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Martin (D-7)	P	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Mathewson (D-113)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
McBride (D-130)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	A
McCrary (D-82)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCubbin (R-118)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
McIntyre (D-122)	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McKamey (D-36)	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A
Mead (R-111)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Meyer (D-53)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Mickelson (D-115)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Miller (R-145)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	A	A	Y
Miller (R-121)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Mitchell (R-134)	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Morgan (D-135)	N	Y	A	N	N	A	N	Y	A
Muckler (D-56)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mueller (D-62)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	A
Mueller (R-93)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Nilges (D-126)	P	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Novinger (R-2)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
O'Connor (D-70)	Y	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Osborn (D-14)	P	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
O'Toole (D-55)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
O'Toole (D-97)	Y	N	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Ottinger (R-101)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Perry (R-138)	A	Y	N	A	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Piekarski (D-64)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proffer (D-155)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Quarles (D-63)	Y	A	A	Y	A	A	A	A	A
Quinn (D-40)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rabbitt (D-85)	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Raisch (R-107)	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Randall (D-8)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Reisch (R-110)	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riley (D-88)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Rivers (D-79)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Roderick (D-19)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Rojas (D-23)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	A
Rollins (D-47)	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Rothman (D-77)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Russell (D-58)	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	A	N
Russell (D-6)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Russell (R-150)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Rust (R-156)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ryan (D-42)	A	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Scaglia (D-30)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schlef (D-60)	Y	N	A	N	A	Y	Y	Y	N
Schnatmeier (R-52)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	P
Schorgl (D-24)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	A	N
Schrader (D-137)	A	Y	Y	A	N	Y	N	N	Y
Scott (D-87)	Y	N	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Seay (D-129)	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	N	A
Sego (D-43)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sharp (R-38)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Shear (D-76)	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Smith (D-46)	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Snowden (D-20)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Snyder (R-95)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	A	Y
Sponsler (D-151)	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Stone (D-71)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stoner (R-147)	N	A	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stotts (R-141)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Strong (R-119)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Sutherland (D-4)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sweeney (D-84)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thomas (D-18)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thompson (R-96)	N	A	A	N	N	Y	N	A	N
Treppler (R-106)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Usher (D-12)	A	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Villa (D-103)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Volkmer (D-13)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
Vossmeier (D-86)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Waits (D-35)	A	N	A	A	Y	A	A	Y	A
Wallis (R-158)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Welch (D-54)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Westfall (R-133)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Williams (D-78)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Young (R-136)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A
Youngdahl (D-9)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Zych (D-100)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Oak Park, Illinois at the turn of the century was a setting straight out of a Booth Tarkington novel. Propriety, provincialism and prudery were the prevailing virtues and people placed a high value on work, closely-knit family life, observing the well-defined social amenities, conservative politics, regular church attendance and simple, family-oriented recreation.

Ernest Hemingway's family fitted comfortably into this mold but with the advantage of hindsight, it isn't difficult to speculate that these conservative virtues could have had a profound negative influence on Hemingway's life.

Although as a boy Hemingway gave every appearance of placid conformity, it's interesting to think that these very virtues might have been the catalysts which flung him out of Oak Park into the heady, exhilarating arena of Europe in World War I where every day was fraught with danger.

Ernest Hemingway was born July 21, 1899, the second of six children in the family home at 439 N. Oak Park Ave. Ruth Bagley Burchard, who lived behind the Hemingways, recalls Hemingway's father had promised that if the baby was a boy "I'll come out on the porch and blow my cornet."

Sure enough, on a warm July day a triumphant trumpet call rang out from Oak Park Ave. and her mother called out, "The Hemingways have a boy!" It was never clear what form the announcement would have taken had the baby been a girl.

Hemingway's father, Clarence, had also been born in Oak Park. He attended Oberlin and Rush Medical College in Chicago. Following a year of study in Europe he established a medical practice in the home where Ernest was born. When Ernest was five the family moved into the large stucco home his father had built to house his growing family at the corner of Kenilworth and Iowa.

Clarence had met his wife, Grace Hall, at Oak Park High School when he was 15. After their marriage in 1896 Grace Hemingway became socially prominent but remained always an extreme example of Citorian prudery.

Edith Striker, Ernest's seventh grade teacher at Oliver Wendell Holmes school, remembers him as "very handsome and likable." She recalls one day his mother came to school and said, "I don't think you should be reading Jack London's *Call of the Wild*. It's not the kind of book young people should be reading."

Ernest Hemingway wasn't the only literary luminary to emerge from the Oak Park High School Class of 1917.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY

— growing up In Oak Park

BY JEAN GUARINO



Edward Wagenknecht, the distinguished literary critic, writer and teacher and now professor emeritus at Boston University was the school's star public speaker and valedictorian of the Class of 1917.

Hemingway wrote the class prophecy and in his book of reminiscences "As Far As Yesterday," Wagenknecht recalls that Hemingway took his cue from my "utter indifference to all sports and games. He made me a famous baseball player and I can still remember the mischievous glance he cast at me out of the corner of his eye when he was reading it at our class day exercises."

In his chapter on Hemingway in "Cavalcade of the American Novel," Wagenknecht enlarges upon the idea that Ernest was the average boy-next-door. "Hemingway was a handsome, friendly and courteous boy who seemed equally enthusiastic about the sermons of the famous Dr. William Barton of the First Congregational

church and the performances of the Chester Wallace Players at the Warrington Theatre."

Wagenknecht continues, "I have since read that he was lonely in high school, that he had once run away from home and that he was sometimes regarded as a 'tough guy'. These things may or may not have been true; all I can say is that there was nothing in my contacts with Hemingway to cause me to suspect them. I had no classmate whom I recall with greater pleasure."

Not long after graduation, Hemingway went to Italy as an ambulance driver where he was severely wounded by shrapnel. Edith Cummings Conley, who was several years behind Hemingway at Oak Park High, recalls that he returned to Oak Park to recuperate. He appeared at a high school assembly to speak of his experiences and Mrs. Conley recollects that he cut a romantic figure to his impressionable audience.

"Ernie was thin and very handsome," she said. "He came in limping with a cane and spoke so eloquently and persuasively that five boys immediately left school to join the ambulance corps in Italy."

She feels that some of the animosity Hemingway was reported to have felt toward his home town was exaggerated. "He was simply ahead of his time and couldn't live or write here under the disapproving scrutiny of his family."

Mrs. Conley belonged to the same church as the Hemingways and she recalls that, whenever anyone mentioned that they had read Hemingway's latest book or short story, Mrs. Hemingway would sniff censoriously, "I never read any of Ernie's books." A half-dozen copies of his second book, "In Our Time," written in Paris in 1924, were sent to and returned by his father because the book dealt with venereal disease, a topic "no gentleman would discuss in public" according to his outraged father.

After shaking the dust of Oak Park from his restless feet, Hemingway never "returned" to his home town in the real sense of the word. He did come back for a few brief visits including his father's funeral in 1928. However, he didn't return in 1961 for his mother's funeral. They had been alienated too long for Hemingway to play the role of the dutiful son.

Hemingway never wrote much about Oak Park but in 1952 he commented, "I had a wonderful novel to write about Oak Park and never would do it because I did not want to hurt living people."

HUMAN BEING and CITIZEN

*Essays on Virtue,
Freedom
and the
Common Good*

A philosopher and
the eternal questions

Essays by
George Anastaplo

Reviewed by
Dick Simpson

(Swallow Press, Chicago, 1975,
332 pp., \$10 clothbound)

Anastaplo's essays need to be read by both activists and serious students of politics because they reveal a wisdom which is lacking in most public acts and in most political science texts. After reading the 17 essays and the hundred pages of footnotes which elaborate their argument a reader may not adopt Anastaplo's opinion on every question - in fact, he is invited to hold different opinions - but he will have learned how to think better about political questions.

Controversial, current social issues are transformed by George Anastaplo into questions of enduring worth. Thus, he asked neuro- and psycho-biologists assembled to hear him, "1) What is a good man? 2) How does a good man come to be? 3) What kind of man is likely to develop as a result of our present opinions and approach?" Since neuro- and psycho-biologists cannot answer these questions, we are made to wonder if uncontrolled experimentation on controlling human behavior and creating test-tube life should proceed.

These questions, of course, give away the truth. George Anastaplo is an unredeemed political philosopher living with the eternal questions which the ancients asked. Because of this we might not expect him to be a full citizen, active in the affairs of the world - using words, nay using the truth, as a sword. C. Herman Pritchett in a *California Law Review* article characterized Anastaplo's

action most succinctly, "As W. C. Fields might have said, any man who is kicked out of Russia, Greece [under military rule] and the Illinois bar can't be all bad." To take just the last example, Anastaplo was declared unfit to practice law by the Illinois Bar Association in 1950 because he refused to answer questions about his political beliefs on the simple ground that the committee had no right to ask (see *FOCUS/Midwest*, Vol. 1, No. 1). Acting as his own counsel he appealed the case all the way to the Supreme Court and lost. That Anastaplo is not allowed to practice law and that most of the Watergate defendants were is ironic. For if anyone knows the meaning and importance of the law it is George Anastaplo. (He was Research Director for the report issued by the Illinois Commission on Individual Liberty and Personal Privacy. See *F/M* Vol. 11, No. 68.)

The *Human Being and Citizen* essays are not random ramblings as are many collections of this sort. They are "constructive provocations... efforts to suggest to partisans in controversial situations what should be said for the other side..." The essays include what Anastaplo said to the rulers of Russia, Greece, and the Illinois Bar as well as what he said to Black students about the limitations of Black Studies, to scientists about artificial creation and sustaining life, and to Canadians about Quebec Separatism. For George Ana-

staplo has created for himself the role - seldom played in our time - of philosopher and truth teller. He has taken the Quaker principle of "speak truth to power" and brought it back to the Socratic principle of "speak truth to all - at least as much as they can comprehend." These essays allow us to meet with this moral man in our immoral society and to learn how he copes with it. The Committee on Character and Fitness of the Illinois Bar Association may have concluded that he "failed to prove that [he] possess[es] such qualifications as to character and general fitness as in the opinion of the Committee would justify [his] admission to the bar of Illinois" but the reader is more likely to conclude the opposite.

George Anastaplo is particularly important to the study of law and politics, although many in both fields may not admit it. Legal scholars and political scientists see their task as descriptive, not prescriptive. They observe the disregard of the Bill of Rights in governmental surveillance of citizens, the destruction of the underpinnings of democracy in "scientific" studies of elites, and the breakup of political parties documented in public opinion polls but profess no views on what should be done. Unlike most "professionals," Anastaplo does profess to know what should be done. *He admits to beliefs and acts in accordance with them.* He claims to possess a knowledge (and understands the limits of his knowledge) which is more profound than the "information" timidly claimed by scholars and behavioralists. His essays leave no doubt that he is both human being and citizen and we are well advised to study them carefully and to consider for ourselves what we might do to become more reflective, more courageous, and more responsible politically.

George Anastaplo teaches us by action and by words what it means to be a human being and a citizen. He explores the conflicts in these two different roles. He effectively refutes accepted opinions and easy answers. He makes ancient ideas relevant in concrete ways to our current plight. He supplies answers to modern political problems as well as better questions. He would teach activists to better consider what they do. He would teach scholars to translate their private thoughts into public action. He reminds us all of the importance of the search for wisdom - the wisdom needed to govern ourselves and to choose our future - the wisdom that can never be replaced by mere scientific knowledge.

POEMS

A Sequence of Irish Flowers

by Peter L. Simpson

Saxifrage

□ Yeats. Born 1865. Dead now. *That* was over.
Over, yes. *Our* war now.
War is the hardy perennial
real men take for truth — I
am glad for the lies
that charge my bones;
my soul is filtering
the lies, my sleep taking
the sand and slime and
turning all of it to dreams
of my Yeats heart alive
again. I work with
what is left,
like the root that breaks
the rock for growth,
eye casting his gauntlet
to the sun.
O, Yeats, the petals rest
on a solid base.

Wild Columbine

□ Do not turn your eyes to me
I can't look back.
How many have drunk
of me and mine I do not
ask myself.
Be fair to all your memories
and turn your torture
from the rack of right
and wrong. God's eye looks
kindest on those who slip
directly into night or fly
through clouds, for judging
us is not His basic
bother (though He will
of course) but how He
will devise to do it
will make sense only
to those who gave
their best to love.

Sea pink or thrift

□ A chattering clump of girls
meeting for lunch
Downtown among cracked
rocks. They wag scornfully
at scandal yet delight
in their gab waves their little
heads proud and high.
Will they break if some
great dark thing falls
on them in the dark?

St. Patrick's Cabbage

□ They are neither food nor fragrance
for a modern pope. Thin
contemporary strung out,
like veins along
burnt-out bones.
Your name is big, like us —
who see that we must be
about the body's business.
So we shock old men of God —
lacking a bland decorum
for the dying — and I fear
we simply bore the Lord.

Heather in Connemara

□ This is the bloom the shy
duck looked at and began
to tone his wing span

as the swan. Some of us
will be ugly always
but — for us swans fly.

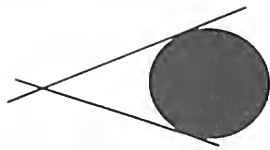
That is the impact
of the fairy story.
We are normal, we

have our ugliness im-
pacted. There is little
we can do but look

out for ourselves, look
out and maybe see some
duck's muscles stretch.

So what, we say, we're
ugly still. We'll die
that way though mad ducks

fly, change, swim on
sad blue lakes and wait
for us to change.



THE RIGHT WING

AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

The *American Security Council*, the military-industrial complex personified, has added two potent organization leaders to its "Bicentennial Operation Alert" as Co-chairmen. They are Harry G. Wiles, National Commander of the *American Legion*, and Mrs. Alan Schanel, National President of the *American Legion Auxiliary*.

Also, the ASC has announced in low key that its sister organization, the *Institute for American Strategy*, has been folded and its functions taken over by the American Security Council Education Foundation.

BIRCH SOCIETY

The Associated Press has reported that the John Birch Society is doing very well — 500 new chapters in the past two years, bringing the total to 4,000 across the country; 107 radio stations carrying Alan Stang's Report; and other organizational gains. The May *Bulletin* of the Society prints in great detail the taxes it has paid in the first four months of this year (to show the monstrous impact of taxes) which add up to an impressive total of \$256,696 and indicate a huge payroll and daily operation. The Society will operate 10 youth camps this summer, out of which it claims to recruit hundreds of new members. And its regional fund-raising dinners are doing better than ever.

The John Birch Society is alive and well, but not growing much, in the Kansas City area, according to reporter Harry Jones, Jr. of the *Kansas City Star*. The Society claims to have between 100 and 200 members in Greater Kansas City, about the same number as it claimed to have 12 years ago.

When the society holds a public meeting here, with a featured speaker, it draws a crowd of from 100 to 400 these days. Such meetings are held three or four times a year.

The society, however, claims to have "10 supporters for every member," and indeed, in 1967, when two members of the society ran for at-large seats on the Kansas City city council, advertising themselves openly as Birchers, they received 17,000 and 18,000 votes against their Citizens Association-backed opponents' 47,000 and 50,000.

Nationally, membership in the society is "between 60,000 and 100,000," according to John F. McManus, the society's chief public relations man in Belmont, Massachusetts, the society's home town.

However, Jamie Kelso, 27, the society's

most up-front member in Greater Kansas City, said that the national membership has reached 200,000 — the most ever.

The society's monthly magazine *American Opinion* has a circulation of 50,000, according to McManus.

John Birch Society members have been spearheading the promotion and distribution of the illegal drug Laetrile to American cancer sufferers, according to leaders of the alleged smuggling ring. Robert W. Bradford, one of the eight Americans indicted by a federal grand jury in San Diego for smuggling, is co-founder of the Committee for Freedom of Choice in Cancer Therapy, which was set up around a nucleus of John Birch members in 1972 in Los Altos, California. Bradford himself is a life member of the John Birch Society. Books and articles... "defending Laetrile's effectiveness are prominently displayed for sale by the Birch Society's bookshops throughout the country." Laetrile's defenders say it is not sold as a "cancer cure," but as a megavitamin. The FDA claims that Laetrile is a cruel hoax and worthless nostrum.

FAVOR A RIGHT-WING „CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC..

A powerful coalition of conservative evangelicals is putting together a political apparatus to elect right-wingers to public office and eventually achieve a "Christian Republic." A voting index of Congressmen was being issued by a movement led by Rep. John Conlan, an ultraconservative Republican from Arizona, and Rus Walton, a professional conservative organizer from California. However, the movement has gone much further than that and involves much more money and more groups.

Very significant information since then has been reported in the April *Sojourners* magazine, a voice of evangelicals who are concerned with this development. The movement apparently began in 1974 with the formation of Third Century Publishers, which has issued basic books to help the plan, along with *Third Century Report*, a monthly, and the *Third Century Index*, a voting record which arbitrarily rates conservatives high. These are run by Walton.

In June of 1974 an unpublicized meeting was held in Washington to undergird the plan to elect "the right kind of Christians" by activating people in every Congressional district. The purpose was explained by Conlan, who remains a (or the) leader of the drive, and by Bill Bright, the founder and President of Campus Crusade for Christ International.

Others at the meeting were mostly businessmen who have helped the evangelicals on similar causes; 10 of them pledged \$25,000 each.

About the same time, the Christian Freedom Foundation — started in 1950 by Howard Kershner for a bland mixture of

religion, economics and politics — was apparently having financial trouble and several of its board members moved their interest into the budding Conlan-Bright-Walton plans. The Foundation — and its tax exemption — have been moved to Washington, D.C., with the Third Century Publishers and is offering Walton's basic book, *One Nation Under God*, and *In the Spirit of '76*, a handbook for winning elections.

The Walton book, along with selections of scripture, lays out an entire ultraconservative political agenda which includes abolishing minimum wage laws and compulsory education laws and taxes for public schools, passage of right-to-work laws, harsher criminal penalties, withdrawal of support for the United Nations, increased military spending backed by strident anti-Communism, and much less government provision of social services.

The prominent role of Bill Bright, an outstanding success among evangelicals on and off campus, added a ready-made band of skilled helpers throughout the country. Earlier this year, Bright was in the news for being partly responsible for the acquisition of a half-million dollar landmark estate in Washington to be known as the "Christian Embassy."

ANONYMOUS CHARGES BY OPPONENTS OF DAY CARE BILL

An anonymous flier making erroneous and unproven accusations against the Child and Family Services Act of 1975 has caused problems for supporters of the bill, opponents of the bill, and the Missouri State Library.

Requests were being made to local libraries for copies of "U.S. Senate Bill 262," for the "Charter of Children's Rights," or for "p. 44138 from the Congressional Record." These references were suggested by the anonymous flier to find out how proposed day care legislation would "sovietize" the education of American children and would allow the government to dictate to parents how to rear their children, including giving children the right to refuse to take out the garbage or to go to church with their parents.

It turns out that S. B. 262 was a typographical error for S.B. 626. Similarly, the "Charter of Children's Rights" has nothing to do with the Child and Family Services Act of 1975, but rather was developed by a British group and was discussed by Senator Carl Curtis (R-Neb) during consideration of day care legislation in 1971 as his example of radical thought. "P. 44138" also refers to Curtis' remarks in 1971.

The two organizations who are publicly coordinating opposition to the Child and Family Services Act of 1975 criticize the tactics of this anonymous flier. Supporters of the bill, who are concerned about the

flier's distortions, wonder why the leaf-letters have chosen to remain anonymous. And, as described by Meryl Atterberry, Missouri's Coordinator of Government Documents, writing in the April 1976 issue of *Show-Me Libraries*, the State Library has had difficulties in tracking down the source of this flier which has misled a number of citizens especially in the Midwest and Southwest.

"INFORMATION DIGEST" EXPOSED AS RIGHT-WING CONDUIT

A mysterious publication purporting to monitor undercover activities of the left has been exposed by investigators for the New York State Assembly as a network of right-wing informants working with police departments.

Called *Information Digest*, the professional-appearing, mimeographed publication has been circulating among police departments about 7 years, with evidence that police reciprocated with information. Some of the material cited in the New York report could only have come from infiltrators of meetings, movements or other groups and has been vouched for as to accuracy.

The investigators found that the publication has been produced by S. Louise Rees, a former staff member of the House Internal Security Committee and now employed by Representative Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), with the assistance of John Herbert Rees, who has been a paid informant of several police departments.

Both have used aliases and have infiltrated liberal or leftist groups. They are apparently now married, but attempts to talk with either were fruitless, partly because they have been protected by others.

For example, Congressman McDonald, a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society, would not comment; nor would Congressman Richard Lehord (D-Mo.), who was Chairman of the House Internal Security Committee when Mrs. Rees was an employee. The Committee was abolished last year.

In addition, the investigators report that a John Rees was editor in 1969 and 1970 of the newsletter of the Church League of America, an established organization near Chicago which keeps millions of files on leftists and liberals. However, the Church League would not comment on Rees or his whereabouts.

And a myriad of addresses and post office boxes led to nothing more than a wild goose chase of postal and police authorities.

The New York investigators, William F. Haddad and Thomas M. Burton, got into the strange operation as part of their concern about "methods used to accumulate information about people who had committed no crime and were not suspected of committing a crime."

They found that *Information Digest* was "the string that held together a network of hidden informants . . . without independent checking by the police as to the validity and source of this derogatory information."

The investigators reported that "the financing of *Information Digest* remains concealed" and said that the information "used to develop dossiers on thousands of patriotic and decent Americans . . . was collected by mysterious characters apparently unworthy of the respect and attention paid to them by law enforcement authorities."

They further stated: "The 'agents' of *Information Digest* have lived strange fantasy lives. The fact that the information they supplied on innocent civilians was treated with interest seems inconceivable in retrospect."

THE MINUTEMEN

Robert DePugh, head of *The Minutemen*, hosted a meeting in Kansas City of far-right organizations which formed a coalition

called the *American League for Independent Voter Education* (ALIVE). Its major action was to warn President Ford to change his policies.

NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE

The *National Congress for Educational Excellence*, a new group on the right in the educational field, drew school critics from all over the country for its first meeting in Tulsa. The organization is planning many state-wide meetings and exhibits of "undesirable" textbooks and is reported to be setting up a traveling task force to provide specialized support for local battles.

WANDERER FORUM

John Joseph Cardinal Carberry of St. Louis, vice president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, spoke at the 12th annual Wanderer Forum held at St. Paul, Minnesota.

You read it first in FOCUS/Midwest

Speculation about the identity of "Deep Throat" have lately cropped up in many publications as diverse as *Rolling Stone* and the *Wall Street Journal*. For our readers the facts were revealed by Prof. R. H. Popkin long ago. If you missed it, receive a free issue with your subscription or gift subscription.



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